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GERMANY 1919-1921 "IM HAUCH DER POESIE"

The Poetry in the Family Magazines
Die Gartenlaube, Velhagen-und Klasings and
Westermanns Monatshefte at a Time of Crisis

By

Carolyn Brauer Leavengood

B.A., Kansas State University, 1963

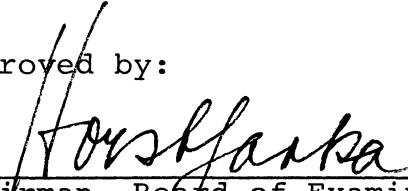
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for the degree of

Master of Arts

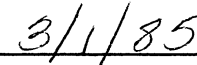
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ABSTRACT

Leavengood, Carolyn Brauer, M.A., February 10, 1985

German

GERMANY 1919-1921 "IM HAUCH DER POESIE" The Poetry in the Family Magazines Die Gartenlaube, Velhagen-und Klasings and Westermanns Monatshefte at a Time of Crisis (112 pp.)

Director: Horst Jarka 

This thesis examines selected poetry of 1919-1921 from the Gartenlaube, Velhagens and Westermanns and tries to answer the question of how far the political situation during the three years after World War I is reflected in this poetry. The method of approach is basically thematic. Within this thematic approach the poems are examined aesthetically, i.e. indicating the nature of their imagery and poetic diction in general.

The family-oriented and widely read magazines are shown to embody middle class mentality. Chapter I describes the nature of these three magazines, their history, their middle class readership, gives circulation figures as far as obtainable and indicates the quantity and nature of the material to be examined.

Much of the poetry of Chapter II is escape poetry, confined to the desire to withdraw from reality and politics. The rejection of politics and controversy was integral to the middle class ideology of the magazines.

The nature poetry of Chapter III is pseudo-romantic and escapist, the ultimate effect being kitsch. In some poems nature becomes the concept underlying a biologically oriented ideology - the völkisch ideology. In the nature poems of Chapter IV nature is defined as "land," German land which unites and roots the German people through faith in the soil.

Chapter IV deals with the personal response to defeat in World War I manifested in poems of grief, denial and defiance coupled with heightened nationalism. The rejection of the Revolution, the Weimar Republic and the Treaty of Versailles, as well as the call for concrete political action in the plebiscites, is expressed in the poetry of Chapter V.

Chapter VI emphasizes the fact that the poetry studied here represents only one voice and that there were other voices responding to the war experience by example of Bertolt Brecht and Erich Kästner.

The conclusion brings out the basic contradiction between escapism and passionate involvement. The apolitical stance became a facade behind which active politics were carried on. The thesis finds without exception that the aim of the postwar poetry is the acceptance of war and the minimizing of the depth of suffering and loss of life in the war effort. The postwar poems encourage nationalism and a militaristic mentality which helped prepare the way for National Socialism.

This thesis is an original study in the areas of German literature, intellectual history, and journalism of the early years of the Weimar Republic.

PREFACE

The original thesis idea was to make a subjective study of a particular unknown poet, my great aunt, Helene Brauer (1889-1925). She published two volumes of poetry: Mädchenlieder (1919) and Neue Gedichte (1921). To place her poetry I wanted to study the work of other poets of her generation and caliber. In order to do that I investigated the poetry in magazines in which Helene Brauer had published during her productive years, namely 1919-1921. In selecting the poetry from the Gartenlaube, Velhagen-und Klasings Monatshefte and Westermanns Monatshefte I wanted to determine who Helene Brauer's models might have been, how her poems compared with other poems in the same periodicals by both men and women, and ultimately whether she was representative or exceptional. As I proceeded to work on this material, it became apparent to me that the "background poems" were of potentially more historical and social significance than the mere subjective treatment of Helene Brauer's intensely personal, small world reflected in her poetry. I hope my thesis proves that I made the right choice.

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INTRODUCTION

The thesis tries to answer the question of how far the political situation in Germany during the three years after World War I is reflected in the poetry of three widely read family magazines. This question itself cannot be answered without answering other questions first. The question itself is based on the assumption that literature does not exist in a vacuum and that poetry is no exception.

Poetry, however, does pose a specific problem. While drama and prose literature are usually considered to be sensitive to social and political circumstances and conditions, poetry is usually considered to be the most personal of all literary genres. This is a very limited definition of poetry. Throughout the centuries there has been social and political poetry. If this is true, we would expect a phase of German history as dramatic as the years 1919-1921 to be particularly reflected in poetry too. But in what poetry?

If we consider literature within the wider framework of social and political life, the question of readership cannot be neglected. For this reason I was particularly interested in poetry read by many. Such poetry could be found in daily newspapers, in school books and in anthologies of wide

circulation. For the reason explained in my preface, I focused on three "family" magazines, which means that the readership of the poems discussed was directed to the middle class.

As exciting as this undertaking proved to be, there was an underlying problem: the problem of how to deal with Trivialliteratur, that is, second-rate literature, which is what all the poetry in these magazines turned out to be. Within the overall aesthetic category of Trivialliteratur the poetry to be discussed thematically falls into a special sub-category for which no simple term has been agreed upon. Uwe Ketelsen, in his book on research material in this area, places the kind of texts studied in this thesis as völkisch-national-conservative literature (1890-1933) and the subsequent literature of the National Socialists (1933-1945) under the label of German literature of (klein) bürgerliche Anti- Modernization.¹ Studies of this literature have not been pursued until recently because it was considered of no real value either in an aesthetic or in a general "humanistic" sense. In Ketelsen's phrase, the völkisch-national-conservative literature was a "tangle of conscious forgetfulness, the desire to purge, repression, fear and reactive, aggressive complexes."² As a result, this literature has simply been left out of the German literary tradition as if it did not exist. Therefore, there is quantitatively very little secondary literature addressed to

this area. To my knowledge, this thesis is original, as I haven't been able to find similar studies which deal specifically with poetry from the middle class family magazines as a source of bourgeois attitudes.

My method of approach is basically thematic. Within this thematic approach I will examine the poems aesthetically, i.e., indicate the nature of their imagery and poetic diction in general. Social and political background and implications will be illuminated through reference to established historical studies.

FOOTNOTES

¹Uwe Ketelsen, Völkisch-nationale und national sozialistische Literatur in Deutschland 1890-1945, (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1976), p. v.

²My translation.

CHAPTER I

THE MATERIAL

The Magazines

By readers and critics alike the Gartenlaube has been considered as embodying the mentality of the middle class German during the Wilhelmine Era.¹ The Gartenlaube was an illustrated family magazine of 16-18 pages published weekly in Leipzig, founded by Ernst Keil in 1853 and merged with Die Welt der Frau. It was very much a product of the Biedermeier mentality of the period in which it was founded.

Ernst Keil's absolutely brilliant sense of publicity recognized around the middle of the nineteenth century that the time had come to satisfy the middle-class German's need for "inwardness" by a journal that could "safely be entrusted to one's daughters and that would promote 'good morals', 'propriety', 'honor' and the 'happiness of society.'"2

The Gartenlaube was an extremely successful and enduring family weekly:

Its weekly circulation increased from 5,000 to ca. 100,000 in 1860, about 225,000 in 1866/67 and reached its peak in the years 1875/76 and 1881 with a circulation of ca. 380,000. In comparison, no other competing publication of this period sold more than 150,000 copies.³

Some prominent authors contributed to the magazine although most Gartenlaube authors wrote merely as a hobby and were unknown.

Unter den Autoren sind zu nennen Ferdinand Freiligrath, Karl Gutzkow und Friedrich Spielhagen (für die jungdeutsche Tradition), Auerbach, Rosegger und Ganghofer (für die Heimat-und Alpenliteratur), Temme (als Verfasser von Kriminalerzählungen), Fontane, Marie von Ebner- Eschenbach, Paul Heyse, und Wilhelm Raabe sowie schliesslich-in der Nachfolge Marlitts, derer erster, in Fortsetzungen erschienener Roman „Goldelse“ (1866) die Verkaufszahlen sprunghaft ansteigen liess und dadurch auf die belletristische Konzeption des Blattes starken Einfluss gewann - E. Werner und Wilhelmine Heimbürg. Entgegen dem durch diese Liste vermittelten Eindruck jedoch war die Mehrzahl der Autoren nur im Nebenruf schriftstellerisch tätig und entstammte „dem kleinstädtischen mittleren und höheren Bürgertum, meist dem (akademisch ausgebildeten) Beamtentum.“⁴

The following analysis of subscribers to the Gartenlaube 1935-1937 gives an idea of the social class and profession of the readership. Although the analysis is from a later date than the time frame of this thesis, it, nevertheless, is valid in showing that the readers of the Gartenlaube were from the middle and upper classes. It also has been established by Edward Tannenbaum that its readers were predominantly women.⁵

Subscribers to the Gartenlaube 1937-39⁶

	<u>%</u>
Owners of businesses and self-employed tradespeople	20.3
Factory owners, directors and executives	2.8
Engineers	1.6
Professionals and higher civil servants	9.9
Civil servants	18.5
Business employees and bank clerks	7.2

Tradesmen	3.3
Domestic help	7.5
Laborers	3.1
Artists	2.2
Landed gentry and farmers	15.2
Home owners and retired people	3.1
No occupation given	5.3

Originally, the Gartenlaube was a publication free of conservative, socially regressive thinking. Ernst Keil was a liberal in 1848 and received a half year prison sentence in 1852 for his liberal sentiments.⁷

Die Tendenz der Zeitschrift war „bis 1870 etwa eine liberale und stets eine nationale“; die ursprüngliche Absicht zielte darauf, durch unterhaltsam dargebotene naturwissenschaftliche, medizinische, technische, wirtschaftliche und historische Belehrung gegen Orthodoxie, Aberglauben und Konservatismus zu wirken. Die „Gartenlaube“ trug also keineswegs „von Anbeginn jenen biederemännisch-unpolitischen Charakter, wie es ihre Ankündigung verspricht“. „In dem Masse (aber), in dem sich der deutsche Liberalismus und der liberale Nationalismus als Ideologien des deutschen Bürgertums in seiner Breite wandeln, wandeln sich auch die Tendenzen der Gartenlaube. Die Gartenlaube wird späterhin politisch neutralisierter, sie wird national in einem immer konservativeren Sinne“, bis sie sich - z.B. mit Richard Skowronneks Roman „Der Bruchhof“ (1901) - sogar völkischen Anschauungen öffnet (Horowitz 1937, S. 118 u. 50).⁸

The conception and style of the journal were nonetheless the essence of what was petit-bourgeois and reactionary. It was only a question of time until the contents of the weekly reflected a nationalist-chauvinist ideology.

. . . und in der Tat prangte bald über der Zeitschrift als Schutzheilige (die vielfach abgebildete) Germania, ein Riesenweib, in einen Perserteppich mit Reichsornamentik eingehüllt, mit Gesundeitssandalen und allerlei Wehrgehänge, mit gusseisernem Lorbeer und einer Krone im hoch gestreckten Arm, die sie sich eben aufs wallende Haar des Hauptes setzt (der Kopf war der proportional kleinste Teil der Figur!)⁹

Although peculiarly German in many ways, the Gartenlaube was a forerunner of the American Saturday Evening Post and Ladies Home Journal and was extremely popular. "Its circulation was considerably smaller, around 250,000 in 1900, but its influence was more profound (than other illustrated weekly supplements of other continental dailies) because it had less competition from other media."¹⁰

Für die Zeit um 1875 sagt Engelsing (1973 S. 120):
 „Die Gartenlaube' wurde auf dem Höhepunkt ihrer Entwicklung von den meisten Familien in besseren Verhältnissen' abonniert und lag in allen Konditoreien, Kaffeehäusern und Klubs aus, so dass die Zahl ihrer Leser nun auf 5 Millionen geschätzt werden konnte.¹¹

In the world depicted in news stories in the Gartenlaube, evil and excess were avoided as unsuitable for the innocent schoolgirls and "sensible" housewives who were its ideal readers.

By the turn of the century, however, the Gartenlaube had decided to enlighten its readers about various aspects of modernization, though still in a domesticated version. In 1889, it gave considerable coverage to the International Women's Congress in London, including pictures of the militant feminists there. Although the Gartenlaube still believed that women's place was in the home, it played up and illustrated new activities like bicycle riding and

amateur photography. . . . In 1906 it ventured into the realm of social problems with a major illustrated article on the plight of poor women forced to do sweated labor in their homes. Its news of the world increasingly paralleled that presented in the other mass media: the doings of royalty, Germany's new overseas colonies, the world's fairs in Paris in 1900 and St. Louis in 1904. In 1912 the Gartenlaube showed its readers "How a Paris Art Exhibition is Organized" but neglected to tell them about avant-garde artists who shunned such official exhibitions.¹²

From comparing tables of contents from several issues of the Gartenlaube the following from 1919 can be considered a typical sample:¹³

"The Primadonna" - a serialized novel
 "Portrait of a Girl" - a photograph of a painting
 "The Separation of Church and State" - article about issues in society
 "Coal, the Black Diamond," "About Bee-Keeping" and "Orangutans" - articles about the natural sciences
 "The Duties of the Housewife" - housekeeping suggestions and recipes
 Photography of current events
 Advertising of household and garden goods and home remedies

Velhagen-und Klasings Monatshefte, founded in 1885 and also a monthly, was much like Westermanns in format but on the highest cultural level of the three, as can be seen in the list below of better-known authors who contributed to the monthly 1919-1921. They are all included in Gero von Wilpert's Deutsches Dichterlexikon:¹⁴

Emanuel von Bodman
 Franz Theodor Csokor
 Richard Dehmel
 Paul Ilg
 Klabund
 Gertrud von Le Fort
 Ernst Lissauer

Josef Ponten
 Hugo Salus
 Richard von Schaukal
 Wilhelm Schussen
 Ina Seidel
 Will Vesper
 Börries Freiherr von
 Münchhausen

The following representative table of contents gives some idea of the magazine's intellectual level and thematic scope:¹⁵

A serialized novel by Max Dreyer
 "The Painter, W. Theilmann," a biographical sketch
 and photos
 "Changing Times and the Military Spirit," an article
 "The Writer, Mark Jens," a biographical sketch
 "Lap Dogs," an article and photos
 "The Open Collar," fashion
 "Diana and the Hero," a short story
 "The Eye of Artistic Perception," an article
 A Guided Tour
 Book Reviews
 Illustrated Potpourri: dolls for adults, ceramic
 stoves, theater notes, gothic cooking molds,
 earthenware from the Rhine, etc.

Velhagen-und Klasings was family-oriented and like Westermanns aimed at cultural enrichment in contrast to the more folksy Gartenlaube which included practical advice for the housewife. Unfortunately no circulation figures were available for this magazine.

Westermanns Monatshefte, founded in 1856 and published monthly in Berlin, Bielefeld, Leipzig and Vienna, was more of a literary publication than Gartenlaube. There were about 85 pages per monthly with sections devoted to novels, short stories, poetry, sayings, art and literature, and a women's section. Each issue contained high gloss art reproductions and illustrations. Writers of somewhat more renown wrote for Westermanns than for Gartenlaube and Velhagen. The following contributors are included in Gero von Wilpert's Deutsches Dichterlexikon:

Ludwig Bäte	Friedrich Lienhard
Felix Braun	Ernst Lissauer
Karl Bröger	Börries Freiherr von
Robert Hohlbaum	Münchhausen
Maria Janitschek	Alfons Petzold
Alma Johanna Koenig	Erwin Rainalter
	Richard von Schaukal

According to a dissertation published in 1952 on its history and place in the literature of the time, by 1870 Westermanns was acknowledged as one of the most respected and distinguished of family magazines.¹⁶ The exact circulation figures of the magazine are not available until after 1920 because circulation figures were not given in the individual issues and the older volumes are not in the archives. A high point was reached in the years 1905-1906, but the exact circulation number at that time is unknown. The circulation from the years which concern this thesis project 1920-1926 was 16,000 - 20,000 in Germany and Austria (a branch office in Austria being founded in 1907).¹⁷ Its circulation never reached 380,000, that of Gartenlaube in its peak years.

Of the three publications only Westermanns still is in print.

For the remainder of the thesis the following abbreviations will be used:

Die Gartenlaube - GL

Velhagen-und Klasings Monatshefte - VKM

Westermanns Monatshefte - WM

The Poems

As said in the introduction, only the poetry in the three family magazines during the years 1919-1921 will be considered in this thesis: that is all the poems published in VKM and WM during the years 1919-1921. However, since the GL, being a weekly, contained many more poems, a selection process was necessary. The selection was made to correspond thematically with the poems in the two monthlies. Here is the numerical distribution:

<u>GL</u>		<u>VKM</u>		<u>WM</u>	
1919	21 poems	1919	16 poems	1919	30 poems
1920	16	1920	27	1920	11
1921	16	1921	18	1921	10
	<u>53</u>		<u>61</u>		<u>51</u>

The themes covered in all poems considered may be divided into the following categories:

1. 29 poems about the home, family and miscellaneous topics. These poems address themes of love, children, parents, tending the hearth, nurturing, family and regional customs and activities, health problems, old age, and odds and ends.
2. 44 nature poems with no overtly political overtones.
3. 22 pseudo-romantic "antiquary" poems dealing with legends, folksongs, and chronicles from the past about the Volk, peasant life, heroes and kings, the exotic and poems of longings for the golden age, lost youth and a desire to travel to faraway places.
4. 15 poems concerning spiritual matters such as faith, fortune, the quest for God, and personal despair. Included are poems which fuse the religious and the political.

5. 18 nature poems with political völkisch implications emphasizing rootedness in the German soil, glorification of the peasant as the man nearest to the soil, paganism, provincialism, anti-urbanization, anti-industrialization, anti-proletarianism, and latent anti-semitism.
6. 21 war poems expressing a personal response to the war experience such as grieving, depression, loss, suffering, deprivation, memories of fighting in the trenches, heroism, the experience of the soldiers in occupied lands, problems of the returning soldier and the refugees from the war.
7. 16 examples of political poetry with direct reference to the bitterness and hatred of the Treaty of Versailles and the lack of respect for the Weimar Republic. These poems deal with the plebiscites, lost territories, the new borders, the stab-in-the-back legend, loss of national honor, paranoia, and chauvinism.

Of the 165 poems 73, that is the poems in category 1 and 2, can be considered unpolitical. To do justice to the poetry in the magazines they cannot be excluded from my study. But I chose to analyze the nature poems only (category 2) since they represent the proportionally greatest part of the unpolitical poetry and because they can be linked to poems with völkisch elements.

FOOTNOTES

¹Critics refer to the Gartenlaube in the following works:

Peter Domagalski, Trivialliteratur, (Basel: Herder, 1981).
Hermann Glaser ed., The German Mind of the 19th Century: A Literary and Historical Anthology, (New York: Continuum, 1981).

Edward Tannenbaum, 1900: The Generation before the Great War, (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976).

²Glaser, p. 198.

³Domagalski, p. 91.

⁴Ibid., p. 91.

⁵Tannenbaum, p. 235.

⁶Domagalski, p. 92.

⁷Brockhaus Enzyklopädie, Zehnter Band (1970), s.v. "Keil, Ernst."

⁸Domagalski, p. 91.

⁹Hermann Glaser, Spiesser-Ideologie: Von der Zerstörung des deutschen Geistes im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, (Freiburg: Verlag Rombach, 1964), pp. 68-69.

¹⁰Tannenbaum, p. 235.

¹¹Domagalski, p. 92.

¹²Tannenbaum, p. 235-236.

¹³My translation.

¹⁴Gero von Wilpert, Deutsches Dichterlexikon, (1965).

¹⁵My translation.

¹⁶Wolfgang Ehekircher, Westermanns Illustrierte deutsche Monatshefte, ihre Geschichte und ihre Stellung in der Literatur der Zeit, (Braunschweig: Westermanns Verlag, 1952), Dissertation, Ludwig-Maxmillian-Universität zu München, 1952, p. 38.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 46.

CHAPTER II

THE UNPOLITICAL POEMS

Withdrawal and Passivity

Much of the poetry in the three magazines is escape poetry, compensatory in nature, confined to the desire to withdraw from contemporary reality and politics. This group of poems which comprises more than one-half of all the poems under consideration includes categories 1, 2, 3, 4 (see pages 11-12), which is 95 poems out of 165. Why there is so much unpolitical poetry at a time of revolution and chaos can, perhaps, be explained through the historic parallels between the time when GL and WM were founded (1853, 1856) and when the poems under discussion were written (1919-1921).

The late Biedermeier Period and the years after World War I were times of great national and personal stress.

The restlessness, the conflict, the provinciality of the restoration were (caused) by national disappointment, lack of inner freedom, widespread poverty, increased collectivism and the loss of religious certainty. . . . the restoration (after 1848) impeded free intellectual life, petty states impeded the emergence of a successfully organized economic system.¹

The GL was founded out of frustration. But, if the GL was indeed founded out of political frustration, this

frustration soon was overcome by smug self-satisfaction. It coddled the Spiesser and the Spiesser was - and is - afraid of change, any change!

Ernst Keil, the editor of the GL, capitalized on this need for withdrawal and inwardness in appealing to the refuge in family life and nature. There was, to be sure, another motivation behind the success of a publication of this kind: after 1848 many middle class people were glad that the Revolution had not succeeded, and that "Law and Order" was restored. The image of the family and close friends nestled together under the garden arbour in the frame of domesticity provided the symbol for protectedness as can be seen in the cover pages from the GL 1853 and 1919 (see illustrations on this and the next page). None of the deep social, political and economic changes of the more than 60 years between these two dates seems to have affected the GL either in outward appearance or, as we shall see, in ideology.

Gartenlaube 1853

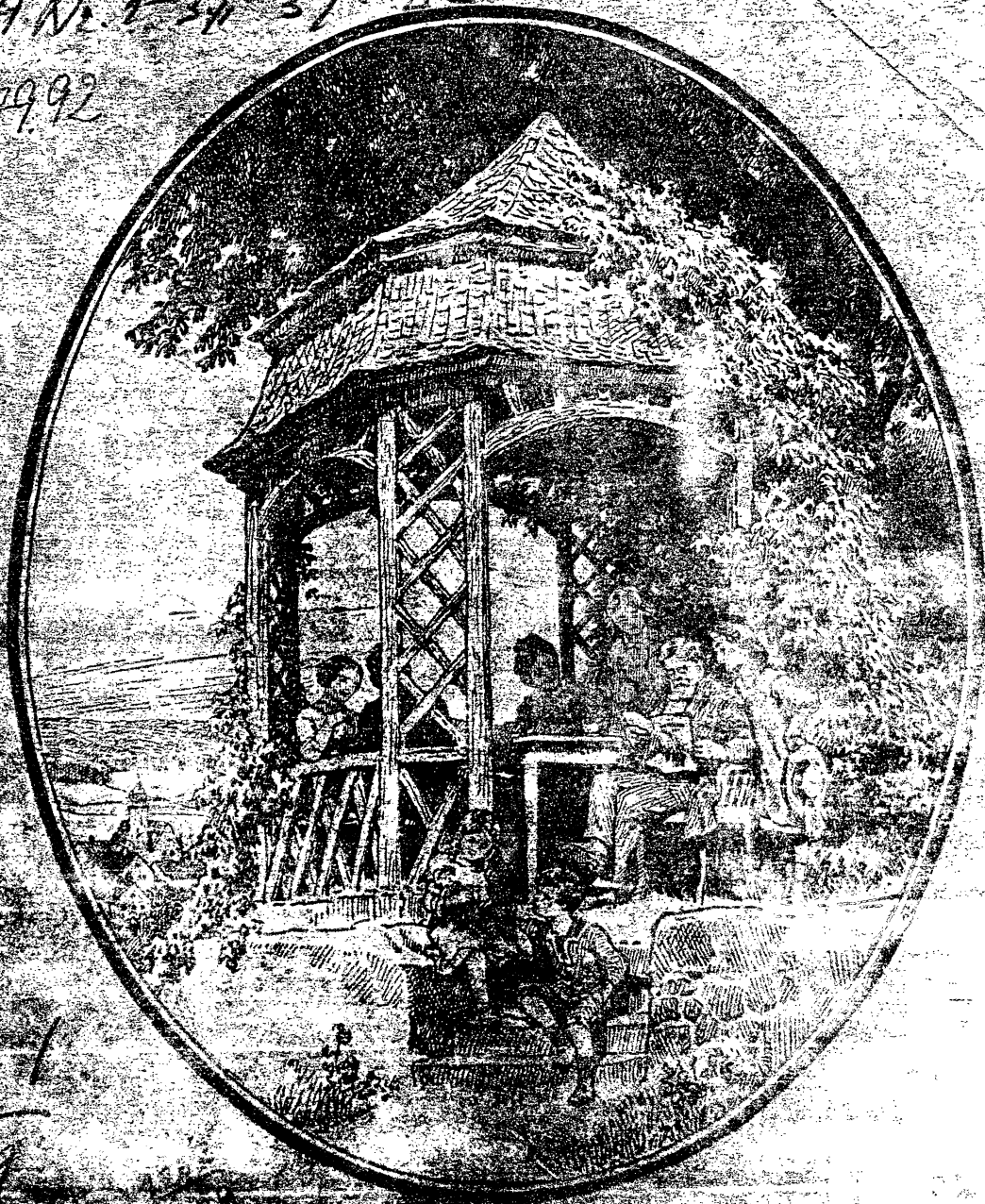


Die Gartenlaube

Handwritten: T 357 P
M 1-26
Lst. Anrede
nicht neblan

Handwritten: 1919 Nr. 1-37 39-52

Handwritten: 79.92



Title page of Die Gartenlaube, 1919

The first issue of the GL (1853) proclaims the intent of the magazine: to avoid the unpleasantries of politics and other current controversial issues and instead promote feelings of "good German" Gemütlichkeit and security characteristic of the late Biedermeier Period in which it was founded.

An unsere Freunde und Leser!
Grüss Euch Gott, liebe Leute im deutschen Lande!

. . . Wenn Ihr im Kreise Eurer Lieben die langen Winterabende am traulichen Ofen sitzt oder im Frühlinge, wenn vom Apfelbaume die weiss und rothen Blüthen fallen, mit einigen Freunden in der schattigen Laube - dann leset unsere Schrift. Ein Blatt soll's werden für's Haus und für die Familie, ein Buch für Gross und Klein, für jeden, dem ein warmes Herz in den Rippen pocht, der noch Lust hat am Guten und Edlen! Fern von aller raisonnirenden Politik und allem Meinungsstreit in Religions-und andern Sachen. . . . Über das Ganze aber soll der Hauch der Poesie schweben wie der Duft aus der blühenden Blume und es soll Euch anheimeln in unsrer Gartenlaube, in der Ihr gut-deutsche Gemütlichkeit findet, die zu Herzen spricht.

So probirt's denn mit uns und damit Gott befohlen!²

A very similar proclamation could have been and perhaps was printed in the first issue of WM. One of the principles under which the magazine was founded was the rejection of politics. This principle was, for the most part, supposedly adhered to even in times of war. In a private letter, dated December 1, 1856, George Westermann wrote:

Politik ist Parthey - sie möge sich in ihren Organen tummeln, die Monatshefte wollen damit nichts zu schaffen haben, und daran werde ich entscheiden festhalten.³

Politics had no place in middle class family magazines. Politics was a dirty word and more importantly politics implied a threat to middle class stability. This was as true in the 1850's as in 1919. The following statement could apply to both periods:

Die <<Flucht nach innen>>brachte den Menschen in die Gefahr, in philiströser Enge zu verkümmern; sie förderte die spiessbürgerliche Mentalität, <<die deutsche Duckmäuserei, das deutsche Angst-philistertum, das deutsche Wolkenkuckucksheim >>(Fr. List).⁴

One reason for withdrawing from the world of politics was that in the conservative, pessimistic view of human nature the pursuit of politics had a limited function. The twenty to twenty-five years before the First World War were characterized by political weariness and passivity among bourgeoisie and aristocrats although certainly not among workers who organized to effect social and political change. The nature of conservative pessimism admitted no perfection in this world. Politics was nothing but an attempt to cope with an existing order. The conservative, therefore, has generally been called "unpolitical." For him, no human effort, no politics, could ultimately remedy the ills of the world. The difference between the workers and the middle class narrowed to one of non-acceptance and acceptance of a given order. Not only the mediocre authors of the GL but even some of the great artists of the period as well took pride in not mingling in politics. For the middle class and

its authors the world was divided into two spheres: a higher realm of ideal values, of "Bildung" and "Kultur" for their own sake and free of politics - and a lower realm of realistic concerns sordid with practicality and compromise. This conservative idea gained national importance through Thomas Mann. "I hate politics and the belief in politics," Thomas Mann said, "because it makes men arrogant, doctrinaire, obstinate and inhumane."⁵ In his Meditations of a Non-Political Man, Mann declared what in practice meant the acceptance of the authoritarian state although in subsequent years he established a positive relationship to democracy.

The notion that politics and realistic concerns had no place in the artist's world was integral to the concept of what nature poetry should be about. The following poem by Börries von Münchhausen expresses the rejection of the real world and pleads for withdrawal into the passive life of making nature-inspired poetry. The choice to reject the hectic real world to pursue Nichtigkeiten, of course, is only available to the aristocrat with leisure time and to a middle class who aspires to the life style of the nobility, albeit an unheroic one.

Lasst mich . . .

Lasst mich in meinem grünen Winkel bleiben,
 Ich neide doch auch euch
 Nicht Reisen oder Feste oder eure Stadt,
 Nicht euer buntes Reich,
 Das gar so viele Freuden hat -
 Lasst mich in meinem stillen Winkel bleiben!

Und Nichtigkeiten treiben,
 Die euch nichts gelten - nichts!
 Mit schönen Worten wie mit Steinen spielen,
 In Ihrer Mosaik den Schmelz beschreiben
 Des Aternangesichts
 Und so der Blume Schönheit doppelt fühlen.

Geruhigen Blicks und ewig neu entzückt.
 In die Natur
 Hineinschaun, tief hinein und ganz beglückt
 In ihrer Stille nur
 Mein stilles Wesen treiben -
 Ach, lasst mich doch in meinem Winkel bleiben!

Börries Freiherr von Münchhausen WM 1919

This Münchhausen poem matches Ernst Keil's declaration of what poetry should be. Poetry is an aesthetic, self-gratifying game and should be about pretty things in nature like flowers, and not about burning, relevant issues in society and politics. And the result should enhance feelings of coziness, Gemütlichkeit sentiment and charm. Never in the many poems like this are subjects addressed which might be unpleasant, only those which are sweet and mildly moving. Indulging in sentiment, not seeing things clearly, was the motivation for writing much of this poetry. The poets and readers could lose themselves in an idyll of inwardness, in a glossed-over contentment, a reverie, and a plunge into the pleasures of trivial aesthetic delights. The sentiments, however, are detached, never daring to touch the core.

How, then, are we to view these non-political poems which represent the largest group of all the poetry under consideration? From what was just said about them it

follows that they are not great poetry, not because they are unpolitical, but because they are synthetic and mushy, designed to entertain and divert the Philistine who likes only what he knows - and what he knows is conditioned by "paint-by-number" kitsch. Still, not all acceptable poetry has to be great and complex. To determine the kind of literary sensibility they nurtured in the readers of GL, VKM and WM it is necessary to take a closer look at their themes. To maintain the focus of the thesis I have decided to concentrate here on those poems which in spite of their unpolitical nature imply ideological undercurrents which will be dealt with in subsequent chapters.

Pseudo-Romanticism and Kitsch

"Idyllic" Nature

How is nature viewed by the poets of the three publications? What in nature is selected to write poetry about, and what is the response to the nature experience as expressed through this poetry? For most of the poets nature is the source of creative expression and poetry evolves naturally as do things in nature. In the previously quoted poem "Lasst mich . . ." making nature poetry is like arranging pretty rocks in order to intensify the experience of beauty. The poem below attempts to explain with infantile coziness how a poem comes into being. The emphasis on "sweet" nature as the source of creative expression is offensively simplistic and saccharine:

Wie ein Lied entsteht

Du fragst mich wie ein Lied entsteht?
Lieb Seelchen, wie tu' ich dir's kund?--
Es kommt vom Himmel herniedergeweht,
Es blüht auf der Seele Grund!

Es steigt ans Licht wie der Quell im Tann
Es kommt wie das Veilchen im März
Und schaut dich mit lachenden Augen an
Und schmeichelt sich heimlich ins Herz.

Wie der Frühling naht es im Blütenschnee,
So leis wie das Glück über Nacht,
Ein bisschen Lust und ein bisschen Weh,
Und das Lied - das Lied ist gemacht!

Josephine Moos, GL 1921

In contrast to the infantile, tame interpretation of nature as the creative source in the poem above, the following lines from "Dichter und Publikum" describe the poet's moment of creativity in geological terms! Inspiration explodes like lava from a volcano, an interpretation no more absurd than the previous ones.

. . .

Doch rührt der Begeisterung magische Stunde
 Ihn [den Dichter] plötzlich mit goldenem Finger an,
 Dann schlägt eine Flamme ihm aus dem Munde,
 - Der schlafende Berg erwacht als Vulkan,
 Die Rede entkocht aus Chaosnächten
 Wie Lava in rollenden Feuerprächten.

Nun ward erst der Dichter! Nun soll man ihn hören!

. . .

Josef Ponten, VKM 1919

God plays a big role in the nature poetry. Proof of a benevolent God and a perfect world order is given by the harmony and balance in nature. Nature inspires the poets to prayer and provides a glimpse of paradise.

Gebet

Blaut der Himmel,
 Blauen Blüten,
 Blüht das Herz mir
 Glutenschwer.

Blutet Mohn in
 Ährenfeldern,
 Zittern Lüfte
 Hin und her.

Tag, dann lass mein
 Herz in Ruhe!
 Schliesse, Nacht, mein
 Auge zu.

Lass mich Gott im
 Himmel sehen!
 Süsse Mutter
 Erde du!

Karl Paul Hiesgen, VKM 1920

The recurring religious experience in nature is that of humility in the presence of the beauty and enormity of creation. In the lines from the poem below the spring rains impel the poet to go outside and thank God for nature's blessing through prayer.

Taufe

. . .

Wenn der warme Frühlingsregen
Segen giesst auf alle Blüten,
Darfst du nicht das Zimmer hüten.

. . .

Geh, du Mensch, und beug' dich nieder,
Neige wie der bunte Flieder
Deine Seele,

. . .

Neige dich und bete an!

W. A. Kranhals, GL 1919

The infusion of the religious experience into nature poetry is most abundant and cliched.

Nature is sentimentalized and made pretty like an ornamental and decorative piece of art intended for enjoyment. This poetry suggests an arty home atmosphere saturated with "beauty," the kind of beauty the Spiesser would wish to see his daily life surrounded with. The brutal struggle for survival, natural catastrophes, violent weather and death and decay are never mentioned. To be sure, death is hinted at in the sweet-sad autumn poems, but the subject is glossed over in age-old ineffective metaphors such as "Frucht war um Frucht geboren," "der Mähder," "Schnitter Herbst," "die Erntezeit," and "Alles Reife muss

ins Grab". Human life is compared with the change of the seasons, a very worn-out metaphor indeed, "Sie sagen, jede Seele hat ihre Jahreszeit."

The nature poems reflect the small town experience of nature and not the direct experience of living in nature and confronting nature in the raw. Nature is the "Kulturlandschaft" of the farmer's tilled field, the garden, the city park or around about the village. Often the poet is not even in the garden or the park, rather, he only views nature from a window (a romantic posture) or from under the protected, shady garden arbour. In fact, the nature poems don't express a strong authentic response to nature at all, rather the poets' general emotionality which could be coupled with anything stirring and not necessarily restricted to an experience in nature. Thus, nature is merely a vehicle for vague "poetic" emotions.

The nature poems deal with the following: the seasons, Kalendergedichte; the church festivals at a particular season; the times of the day (morning, evening, night, dawn, twilight); the Bauer and the work and lessons learned from tilling the soil (mainly the cyclic nature of existence); longing, Sehnsucht, inspired by being in nature; longing for the return of the golden age of childhood; travel and faraway places; and the exotic and the mysterious - all romantic themes, to be sure. The models for the poets in the three publications were the Romantics, especially

Eichendorff, as seen in the poems about the beauties of nature and the romantic yearning for peace in the fold of nature. And there is an abundance of Mondschein and Waldeinsamkeit poetry and Nachtigallenwahnsinn, as Heinrich Heine called it.⁶ The predominant style is the imitation or mere repetition of earlier styles, particularly that of Romanticism, however misused and misinterpreted. According to Hermann Glaser, this kind of Romanticism, Spiessers Romantik, as he calls it, is false because it isolates individual characteristics of Romanticism and destroys the dialectical view of the world.

Man kann die Wesenszüge der Romantik, die Hinneigung zum Märchen, zum Unbewussten, Imaginären, Unheimlichen, Geheimnisvollen, Kindertümlichen und Naturhaften, das Fernweh und die Sehnsucht, nur richtig verstehen, wenn man sie unter dem Gesichtspunkt der <<Paradoxie>> und <<Universalität>> sieht (Zentralbegriffe romantischer Ästhetik): als einen Versuch, Widersprüchliches zu vereinen, den ganzen Kosmos der menschlichen Seele und der irdischen wie überirdischen Wirklichkeit zu erfassen und zu umfassen - Gefühl und Geist, Herz und Intellekt, Sentimentalität und Ironie, Tag und Nacht, Realität und Surrealität, Frömmigkeit und Nihilismus, nationale Literatur und Weltliteratur; indem man Einzelzüge isolierte, zerstörte man das Gleichgewicht dieses dialektischen Weltbildes vollständig; Gefühl Subjektivismus, Irrationalismus wurden überlastig.⁷

The three following poems illustrate the limitations of this epigonal Romanticism.

Abendfriede

Auf seligmüdem Abendgang
Singt der Wind das Tal entlang;
Das Wasser rauschend geht;
Der Bergwald spricht sein Nachtgebet -
Auf einmal ist es still.

Du ahnst, dass Gott nun reden will;
Er ruft das Leid und Glück
In seine Hand zurück.
Nun bist auch du allein -
Schlaf ein! Schlaf ein!

Alv Vogeler in WM 1919

Wandern

Bin gewandert heut mit müdem Schritt,
Nur die Schwester Sehnsucht wandert mit.
Auf dem letzten grauen Meilenstein
Hockt die Liebe, und sie schlummert ein
Wolken ziehn, der Sturm jagt immerzu -
Nirgendwo ein Nest für mich zur Ruh.
Dämmerung legt sich auf die Fernen weit -
Droben träumt die Abendburg, heisst Einsamkeit.

Heinrich Gutberlet, GL 1921

Abend

Die Vögel waren laut und so verwirrt! -
Nun legen sie das Köpfchen ins Gefieder.
Die Nachtigall nur singt noch ihre Lieder,
Wenn keine Sonne mehr durch Blätter flirrt.

Schon ward die Nähe wunderbarlich verwischt,
Da streift die Nacht das Mass von allen Sachen.
Am Wege starb ein herbes Menschenlachen,
Ein Fenster nur noch lächelt und erlischt.

Kurt-Hans Willecke, VKM 1920

Although many characteristics of Romanticism are present in these poems in diction and in themes (solitude, undefined longing, the mysterious, the wanderer, the setting

in the quiet of evening), the ultimate effect is kitsch. The above poems and most of the other poems in these journals are artless counterfeits. The language has a strong second-hand quality, is clichéd, unauthentic, banal and imitative. There is excessive use of diminutives to emphasize the cuteness and dearness of things (ein Vöglein, das Glöckchen, das Völkchen, das Gärtlein, die Leutchen, das Heimchen, das Köpfchen, das Brunnlein, das Lichtchen, das Hälmchen). And there is an attempt to be clever and create new words through coinages such as:

wunderweich	endefroh
stillbetreut	reisefroh

There is an abundance of sterile, predictable "poetic language" to make up for what is lacking in thought. The diction is unimaginative and made up of the same conventional, stale word combinations:

der kleine Brunnen
 der stille Garten
 vom klarem Himmel
 das süsse Leben
 ein roter Mund
 rote Rosen
 weisse Nelken
 das Mondlicht spielt
 die Sterne glänzen
 die Bienchen summen
 der Wind singt
 die Quelle plaudert, singt
 die alte Mühle klappert
 der Mühlbach plätschert
 das Wasser rauschend geht
 die plätschernden Brunnen

Rhyme Combinations

blühn / grün
 Brust / Liebeslust
 Licht / bricht
 lauscht / rauscht
 Wiese / Paradiese
 plätschert / klappert
 Haus / Maus
 Scham / Gram
 Leben / gegeben
 Erwachen / lachen
 blau / grau
 Träume / Bäume
 Hülle / Fülle
 Licht / zerbricht

Metaphors and Images

Frühling - das grüne Wunder
 Frühling - das grüne Gewand
 Frühling - die Vögel singen wieder
 März - Erwachen
 Frühlingsregen - ein Segen
 der Regen - die Taufe
 die Sonne - der goldne Wanderer
 die Nacht - die müde Welt schläft
 die Nacht - die Nachtigall singt
 vor Abend - eine Zwischenstunde
 Ostern - Hoffnung
 Herbst - das Gericht
 der Wald - ein Tempel
 die Ringe eines Baumes - ein menschliches Leben
 die Jahreszeiten - ein menschliches Leben

Anthropomorphizations

Der Bergwald spricht sein Nachtegebet -
 Ein Fenster nur noch lächelt und erlischt.

Allegory

Nur die Schwester Sehnsucht wandert mit
 Hockt die Liebe. . .
 Droben träumt die Abendburg, heisst Einsamkeit

The stanza form and rhyme schemes are conventional, the most used rhyme being abab and stanza form of the four line Volkslied, although one sees the eight line, six line and irregular or unversed forms as well as the sonnet form.

The main weakness of this poetry, to put it plainly, is the insipidity. In the place of thoughtfulness is excessive pseudo-emotionality and sentimental gushing. The result is often sheer nonsense as in these two beautifully stupid little poems about which very little can be said and which are, unfortunately, typical of much of the nature poetry.

Frühling im Dorf

Es hängt ein Finkennest im Rosenhain,
Umkost von wunderweichen Frühlingswinden.
Die Quelle singt und sprudelt blanken Wein,
Und Amseln lachen in den Kirchhofslinden.

Die Heckenrosen gucken durch den Zaun,
Im Garten brennen blaue Fliederkerzen.
Aus den verträumten Giebelfenstern schau'n
Glutrot die stillbetreuten Tränenherzen.

Die Dorfuhr ruft und lächelt tief beglückt.
- So sag: was ist denn im Gebälk geschehen?
Und ihre liebe Stimme tackt und tickt:
- Willst-du-mal-eine-Schwalbenlege sehen?

Franz Mahlke, WM 1921

Mondnacht

Durchs Fensterrund strömt Rosenduft herein.
Das Mondlicht spielt auf meiner Decke
Und fängt sich dort, in jener kleinen Ecke.
Des grossen goldenen Biedermeierspiegels auf.
Huscht hin und her und legt sich leise
Auf meine kleine Schale von Kristall,
Und unten singt die alte, süsse Weise,
Sehnend und jubelnd, die Nachtigall.

Käte Bremer, VKM 1921

Contrast a poem by Eichendorff on the same theme!

Mondnacht

Es war, als hätt der Himmel
Die Erde still geküsst,
Dass sie im Blütenschimmer
Von ihm nun träumen müsst'.

Die Luft ging durch die Felder
Die Ähren wogten sacht,
Es rauschen leis die Wälder,
So sternklar war die Nacht.

Und meine Seele spannte
Weit ihre Flügel aus,
Flog durch die stillen Lande,
Als flöge sie nach Haus.

To be sure, in both poems there are similar images, rhymes and moods, but what was new, fresh and vibrant in 1837, after having been imitated a hundred times by the pseudo-romantics had become stale and dull. Poetry had turned into kitsch.

It is characteristic of kitsch that it lives as a parasite upon the high arts of a culture. Kitsch cannot be used with anything before the late eighteenth century or the early nineteenth. Not only as a term but as a concept kitsch is essentially modern. Kitsch as an offspring of Romanticism offers a sentimentally oriented conception of art which leads to various kinds of aesthetic escapism. Hermann Broch in his writings on kitsch said: "We can say that Romanticism, without therefore being kitsch itself, is the mother of kitsch and that there are moments when the child becomes so like its mother that one cannot

differentiate between them."⁸ In an essay dating from 1933, Broch also spoke of kitsch and Romanticism, basing his parallel on their common nostalgic quality.

Often kitsch is nothing else than an escape into the idyll of history where set conventions are still valid . . . Kitsch is the simplest and most direct way of soothing this nostalgia . . . Replacing historical or contemporary reality by clichés, kitsch clearly thrives on some emotional needs that are generally associated with the romantic view of the world. To a large extent we can see kitsch as a hackneyed form of Romanticism.⁹

To understand the nature of kitsch it is helpful to analyze the particular hedonism characteristic of the middle-class mentality.

[The] primary feature [of kitsch] is perhaps that it is a middle-of-the-road hedonism, perfectly illustrated by the principle of mediocrity that is always obtained in kitsch. The middle class being an active class, its hedonism is confined to the use of spare time, and poetry is offered as a way to 'kill time.' It is a hedonism of relaxation and, therefore, compensatory in nature. That is why kitsch lends itself to a definition in terms of a systematic attempt to fly from daily reality in time (to a personal past as indicated by the kitsch cult of the souvenir, to the 'idyll of history') and in space (to the most diverse imaginary and exotic lands).¹⁰

The "Idyllic" Past

Kitschy romanticism manifested itself not only in the nature poems as a flight from ugly industrialism, but also in a renewed interest in the past, a flight from modern times in general. In poetry, this escapism led to a new interest in the ballad, indeed around 1900 readers and writers were seized by a veritable Balladenwut (Ketelsen, p. 44). Ballads proved very marketable in our three publications. 17 out of 165 poems are ballads, that is approximately 10%.

The revival of the ballad whose main representatives were Agnes Miegel, Börries von Münchhausen and Lulu von Strauss und Torney was actually the renaissance of a renaissance going back to Sturm und Drang. Feudalism again became nostalgically attractive as a desirable alternative to modern class society. The ballads from the three publications are almost exclusively about heroes, kings, or great individuals or legendary characters from the Volk. The poems are basically anti-modern and are examples of a sentimentally oriented attempt to "fly from a daily reality" to the past where set conventions were still valid. Examples of such ballads are:

"Märkische Schlossgeschichte" (the middle ages)

"Don Quixote vor der Windmühle" (literary figure from the past)

"Gust Leubelfing" (great, unhistoric individual from the Volk)

"Spreewaldnacht" (heroic men and women from the middle ages)

"Nicht zu sagen . . . Altes Schloss" (contemplation of the ruins of a castle from the middle ages, the souvenir)

The escape to the past didn't stop with the Middle Ages. Some ballads deal with biblical subjects or Greek mythology. One is even about a "Dreaming Pagoda"! Basically, there were no limits to the imagination of escapism offered in this "literary tourism" of the ballad. It is noteworthy that all of the ballads except two come from VKM and none from GL. One explanation might be that the poems are quite long and the GL, being a weekly of about 12 pages, simply didn't have the space for long, narrative poems. Another explanation might be that these ballads have a higher "cultural" content than was characteristic of the poetry of GL.

One final word on kitsch: usually any discussion of kitsch includes love poetry. But only 5 out of 165 poems examined can be termed love poems. This is surprising, especially because the GL had a predominantly female readership and a proportionally large number of female poets contributed. The absence of a substantial number of love poems is disappointing because it would have been worthwhile to look at the love poems emerging from the war experience and the evidence of change in attitudes toward the sexes in

the transition between Wilhelmine Germany and modern times. Perhaps love poetry was not fit for a "family journal," marriage, not passion, being the ideal.

How unpolitical were the "unpolitical" poems discussed in this chapter? Romanticism, the apolitical stance, passivity and withdrawal into nature, the dream of an inner pure and beautiful world eventually became a facade behind which highly active and consequential politics were carried on. A misused and misinterpreted Romanticism was raised to an ideal and offered as an alternative to technology and urbanization. The unpolitical nature poems are not really unpolitical nor are they examples of harmless Wald und Gipfelerlebnisse and Wanderfahrtfreude.¹¹ The political and social implications of Romanticism in terms of Natur, Gemeinschaft, Volk and history (cf. Balladenwut) will be explored in the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES

¹Hermann Glaser, The German Mind of the 19th Century: A Literary and Historical Anthology, (New York, Continuum, 1981), p. 190.

²Peter Domagalski, Trivialliteratur, (Basel: Herder, 1981), p. 91.

³Wolfgang Ehekircher, Westermanns Illustrierte deutsche Monatshefte, ihre Geschichte und ihre Stellung in der Literatur der Zeit, (Braunschweig: Westermanns Verlag, 1952), Dissertation, Ludwig-Maxmillian-Universität zu München, 1952, p. 20.

⁴Hermann Glaser, Spiesser-Ideologie: Von der Zerstörung des deutschen Geistes im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, (Freiburg: Verlag Rombach, 1964), p. 67.

⁵Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany 1849-1945, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), p. 566.

⁶Glaser, Spiesser-Ideologie, p. 63.

⁷Ibid., p. 62.

⁸Matei Calinescu, Faces of Modernity: Avant-Garde Decadence Kitsch, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), p. 245.

⁹Ibid., pp. 239-240.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 244-245.

¹¹Glaser, Spiesser-Ideologie, p. 63.

CHAPTER III

VÖLKISCH ELEMENTS

Background

As we have seen, many of the poems under discussion can be termed nature poems. But at this point an essential distinction is needed. In the nature poems discussed in the previous chapter nature is not much more than decoration, a source of enjoyment, a refuge for idle dilly-dallying. No wonder that in poems like these nature appears to be nothing but a facade covering up serious problems. But in other poems nature is something very different. It becomes the concept underlying a biologically oriented ideology - the völkisch ideology.

The first significant organization of this ideology was achieved in the works of two late nineteenth century German writers, Paul de Lagarde and Julius Langbehn. Other authors in the same vein were H. St. Chamberlain, O. Weiniger, A. Schuler, L. Klages, H. Blüher and A. Moeller van den Bruck.¹ What had earlier been expressed in terms of nostalgia or as a literary and visual contrast to the jarring aspects of modernity, now was fitted out with the trappings of a program. As moralists and guardians of what they thought

was an ancient tradition, they attacked the progress of modernity and the growing power of liberalism, secularism and the loss of faith, of unity and values. Liberals were berated for their pacifism and their indifference to national greatness, socialists for their internationalism. The ideology of the völkisch writers encompassed

". . . anti-industrialization, anti-modernization, anti-intellectualism, anti-materialism, traditionalism and provincialism coupled with latent anti-semitism based on pessimism and fear of proletarianization."²

Their ideas were eminently respectable in Germany after the First World War, and indeed had been current among large segments of the population even before the war, going back to 1890.³

Germany's often thwarted quest for national unity was a constant source of genuine dissatisfaction.

The lack of unity among the people, the division of the country into petty principalities, the religious schisms and the split between the classes resulted in a strong patriotic feeling based on the desire for a cultural cohesion among the people in terms of national roots and a desire for social justice which opposed class struggle and class division.⁴

The acceptance of culture and the rejection of civilization meant for many people an end to alienation from their society. "A culture," to recall Oswald Spengler's words, "has a soul, whereas civilization is the most external and artificial state of which humanity is capable."⁵ Rootedness and organic unity were sought in spiritual terms, through an inward correspondence between the individual, the native

soil and the Volk. With the external was equated the present, disappointing society; the state was opposed to the Volk and the divisive parliamentary politics contrasted with the organic unity for which so many Germans longed.

The völkisch critique was directed at the comfortable and complacent bourgeois society, their preoccupation with the external being regarded as materialistic and opposed to the inner spiritual revival. "The critique was that civilization had captured the bourgeois, and yet it was the bourgeois themselves who had made this critique."⁶ Those who advocated a return to culture, who embraced a "German revolution" did not come from the lower classes of the population. On the contrary, they were men and women who wanted to maintain their property and their superior status over the working classes.

To be sure, it was not the haut bourgeois or the newly rich who objected, but those whom the Industrial Revolution had squeezed to the wall - the retail merchant, but not the department-store owner; the small, tradition-oriented entrepreneur, but not the director of the expanding industries or of the large banks, in whose hands economic power seemed to center. These middle-class bourgeois were joined by the artisan classes, who were rapidly sinking to working-class status and who felt themselves isolated as early as 1848. For both, modernity threatened to destroy their bourgeois status. They found ready allies in the landowners who saw their food monopoly threatened by demands for a reduction of tariffs and for expanded world trade.⁷

The analysis of subscribers to the GL on pages 5 and 6 shows that the readership of the publication was comprised of jus

this segment of the population, the petit-bourgeoisie and the upper-bourgeoisie, who were attracted to this ideology.

Die seit den Preussischen Reformen entstandenen bürgerlichen Unter-und Mittelschichten geraten seit der Jahrhundertmitte in eine gesellschaftliche Zangenbewegung: die rapide nachgeholte Industrialisierung Deutschlands entzieht ihnen die kleinhandwerkliche Basis; diesen Prozess aufzufangen, besitzen die meisten nicht die Kapital-und Wirtschaftskraft.⁸

Those who feared the descent into the proletariat were alternately threatened with fear as well as filled with envy of the advantages of social legislation for organized labor. Since the economic crisis of 1872 the upper-bourgeoisie, too, began to feel the malaise. The middle class, conservative concept of authority in the Wilhelmine Era was accepted as the desired norm because middle class culture was considered intact then.

The longing for self identification, the individual's desire to fulfill his capacities through an idealized and transcendent unity of Volk and nation, was satisfied by turning to nature for the "essence." Nature was not cold and mechanical (as were industry and the cities) but alive and spontaneous. It was filled with a life force which corresponded to the emotions. The human soul could be in rapport with nature since nature, too, had a soul - a romantic, pantheistic soul. Through the nature experience the individual could link his soul with every other member of the same Volk in a common feeling of belonging in a

shared emotional experience. These ideas were reflected in the romantically inspired völkisch movement which had no international counterparts in Europe or in the Americas.⁹

The intellectual and ideological character of völkisch thought was a direct product of the Romantic movement of nineteenth century Europe. Even in the beginning, Romanticism in Germany had an irrational base which tended toward emotional and political extremes.

A pantheistic vision of the cosmos had turned into a Germanic religious striving; national distinctions traced along historical and cultural lines took on racial dimensions . . . Under the banner of the "New Romanticism" (a phrase coined by Eugen Diederichs), was furnished a respectable impetus in thought and ideology which worked hand in hand with racial topology and Germanic fantasies.¹⁰

Völkisch ideology was in essence an ideology opposed to the progress and modernization that transformed nineteenth-century Europe. It used and amplified Romanticism to provide an alternative to modernity, to the developing industrial and urban civilization which seemed to rob man of his individual, creative self.

Völkisch - that is, pertaining to the Volk - is a much more comprehensive term than "people," for to German thinkers ever since the birth of German Romanticism in the late eighteenth century Volk signified the union of a group of people with a transcendental "essence." This "essence" might be called "nature" or "cosmos" or "mythos," ". . . but in each instance it was fused to man's innermost nature and

represented the source of his creativity, his depth of feeling, his individuality and his unity with other members of the Volk."¹¹ Man's innermost nature was believed to be linked with the external world of nature around him.

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the following elements of völkisch thinking:

1. the mystical union of man's soul with the life force in nature and the need to identify other members of the folk,
2. historicity of German landscape, culture and Volk as proof of their value and permanence,
3. idealization of the peasant as the man nearest to nature,
4. a nature religion replacing conventional Christianity.

The Union of Soul and Soil

The Call of the Mother

The "call" or "summons" of the homeland as a living being is the theme of several poems:

Die Heimat ruft!
 Es ruft das Land . . .
 O Heimat, eine Stimme hast auch du,
 Ein lebend Wesen bist du, Heimatland

The voices of nature become the voice of Germany,
 which calls out through wind and birds.



In the last stanza it finally becomes clear what all this calling signified - a plea to God to rectify the indignity of Versailles.

In other poems the homeland expresses herself through a waterfall, a blooming rose, the forests, the mountains, the planets and even the pebbles of one's garden. The call is always the same, to expose the outrage of betrayal in the lost war, unite the Volk and help save the homeland. The image of the homeland as the mother who gave life reinforces the primal bond of dependence of the child (the Volk) on the mother (Germany).

Die Heimat ruft . . .!

Die Heimat ruft,
Die alte, treue Mutter, die euch das Leben gab
Und Jugend, Sonnenglück, Erinnerung!
Es rufen eure Brüder, eure Schwestern,
Es ruft das Land in seinen Waldestiefen,

. . .

Robert Kurpium, GL 1921

In true family spirit mother Germany embraces all her children from different regions. In the landscape poems "German" is a frequent attribute. More often than not, any Wald in these poems is a Deutscher Wald. (In the special case of the Rhine Valley "Germanness" jumps the river. As a natural border the river is violated by Germany for nationalistic claims. Alsace-Lorraine, which had been French before 1871 and from then on German until 1918, became a symbol for Germany's revenge politics.) The explosive power of the word "German" in the poems about the Rhine will be discussed in Chapter V.

Rootedness in History

The idea that nature is permanent and is a force which cannot be destroyed was also transferred to the attributes of a Volk and nation rooted in history and endowed with durability. In the völkisch interpretation of history, the Volk was a historical unit that had come down to the present from a far and distant past and hence was endowed with endurance. The idea was that the German Volk came from Urzeiten and knows Urgründe. At least in one poem the German forefathers rise from their graves as Urväter.

Und Gräber öffnen sich - Urväter stehen auf,
Dampfgröhlend weckt ihr Weheruf die Nacht:
Heimat in Not . . .

The history of the organically grown Volk was fused with the organically grown landscape. In völkisch thought ethnography and topology were meshed in a vague mythology which glorified anything that was considered echt German. "German" mountains, valleys, trees and fields became one with all the German Volk who had lived in this Urlandschaft for centuries. Soil and soul were one.

At the turn of the century there was a demand for literature dealing with the history of the nation. In the 1920's the literary genre of the historical novel was still popular. These novels demonstrated the strength and indestructibility of the Volk and of historical personages in order to provide historical continuity. The historical

novels as well as the ballads mentioned in the previous chapter are not simply examples of literary epigonality of the times:

Sie erfüllten eine bedeutsame sozialpsychologische Funktion bei der ideologischen Artikulation der antimodernen Widerstandskräfte; gerade ihre bewahrende literarische Tradionalität qualifizierte sie als Fundament der gutbürgerlichen Lesebibliothek."¹²

Authors of historical novels were W. Verper, J. Ponten, B. Brehm, G. Kolbenheyer and Ina Seidel. As we have seen, poems by Seidel and Ponten were published in the family magazines under discussion.

More needs to be said here about the ballads. In the last chapter they were cited as examples of epigonal Romanticism. They are also examples of anti-modern literature in that they idealize history as a model for the present. There were not only literary manifestations against the modern concepts of the narrative poems of A. Holz, Wedekind and Chr. Morgenstern, but also against modern times in general. According to Uwe Ketelsen they are examples of "völkisch-national-konservative Literatur" in that

. . . die neue 'numinose' Ballade, (die) eben um die Jahrhundertwende durchbrach, war eine Kampfansage bisher zurückgedrängter stammestümlicher und rassischer Kräfte gegen die vom bürgerlichen Geiste bestimmte Literatur.¹³

The following is an example of a ballad in VKM glorifying the values of chivalry: loyalty, sacrifice, honor, duty, devotion - i.e., the whole catalog of virtues the middle class magazines expounded again and again.

Gust Leubelfing

Der Leubelfing, der — falsch und recht —
Schlechtweg, der Gust' genannte,
War Gustav Adolfs bester Knecht,
Der niemals ihn erkannte.
Zwar schuf der Page ihm Verdacht
Mit seinem Augenblitzen —
Und hat ihn doch so treu bewacht,
Am treuesten noch bei Lügen.
Dem König, wo er schritt und ging,
Zur Seite ritt der Leubelfing, —
Ein Weibsbild led und lose
Staf in der Lederhose.

„Ein Heldenherz in Jungfernbrust“,
Wie Chronika uns kündet,
Hat Schwedens Kriegsgott unbewußt
In Blut zu sich entzündet.
Zwar Gustav Adolf war vermählt
Und gar von strengem Sinne,
Doch hat sich drum nit viel gequält
Des Dirnleins keusche Minne.
Sie wollte ja in Lust und Pein
Nur immer um den König sein,
Mit wunschlos zartem Werben,
Und wär's — für ihn zu sterben. — —

Zu Nürnberg gab ein Ehrenmahl
Dem König Junft und Gilde,
Da rief der Held im Rathausaal:
„Wer trägt mir Helm und Schilde?
Mein Page, wie's im Kriege so geht,
Sanft hin in Todesschwere.“
Da rief ein Rathherr: „Majestät,
Mein Sohn begehrt der Ehre!“ —
Doch — nüchtern raufte sich zu Haus
Herr Leubelfing den Graubart aus
Und erst sein Sohn, der Peter,
Schrie Mordio und Zeter.

Ganz unbeschreiblich war der Gram,
Als mit gezäumtem Fohlen
Ein Feldtornett des Königs kam,
Den Page abzuholen.
„Den Tod und Teufel, Pest und Mord
Auf den verwünschten Schweden,
Darf man noch nicht einmal ein Wort
Im Scherz beim Weine reden!
Mein Sohn und Erbe soll in's Feld,
Ist doch ein Krämer und kein Held!“ —
Das Bäslein in der Kammer
Hört' ihres Oheims Jammer.

Des Königs Page!... Sie glomm wie Mohn
Und ist wie Schnee erblichen...
Die Gustel und des Rathsherrn Sohn
Sich wie zwei Eier gleichen...
Und lachend rief das Heldentkind:
„Was liegt an mir, der Waise?
Gebt, Vetter, Euer Wams geschwind,
Daß ich statt Eurer reise!
Ihr wißt, ich secht' und reit' nit schlecht
Und schelten kann ich wie ein Knecht,
Nur muß ich mich besleißigen,
Statt ‚die‘ — ‚der‘ Gust zu heißen!“

Das Fohlen sie zum König trug;
Die Chronik weiß zu melden:
„Kein Herz, das reiner, treuer schlug
Für Schwedens Herrn und Helden. —
Und noch die Todesfugel ging
Bei Lügen vor dem Zelte
Erst durch den Page Leubelfing,
Eh' sie den König fällte.
Da erst verriet die Weibesbrust
Des Toten, wer das war: ‚der Gust‘...
Doch die's entdeckt, die haben
Sie als ‚den‘ Gust begraben.“ — —

Paul Sandhage

In reaction to the sense of alienation produced by modern times the individual sought rootedness. Rootedness implied antiquity, illustrated by a literature about an ancient people in an equally ancient landscape. The historian Heinrich von Sybel had already said in 1867 that a nation had to cherish its historical ties, that otherwise the Volk would resemble a "tree deprived of its roots."¹⁴ The return to Germanic roots supplied a focus of the readers' vision upon a time when traditional virtues had remained intact. There are many poems set in the past, especially in the Middle Ages. Nostalgia can be offered as an explanation for this fascination, but more important was that the historic tradition of a Volk residing in its native landscape, as an idea, seemed to have been fulfilled in the Middle Ages. The medieval utopia appeared as a rural utopia symbolizing the intrinsic unity of people and landscape. And because the peasantry alone partook of nature and the historical landscape, only they were the "echt" Germans.

Idealization of the Peasant and the Peasant Life

Many of the poems in the three journals deal with the peasant, rural life and agriculture. These poems are "poetic" manifestations of Heimatliteratur, Provinzliteratur and Blut-und-Boden literature. This is the literature of regressive escapism - an idealization of a lost social form - the peasant life. This literature offered more than just a fictionalized, idealized contrast to the problem-torn world imposed by industrialization with its political and social crises:

Hier [in this literature] sei der völkische Lebensgrund zu finden, von dem aus die Relativierungen und Interessenantagonismen der liberal-sozialistisch-bürgerlichen Industriewelt rettend wiederhergestellt werden sollte.¹⁵

The real problems of agriculture in Northern Germany, for example, which grew out of industrialization, are completely ignored. Only Bauerntum as mythic, eternal and trans-historical is symbolized in the image of the thoroughly good peasant in a pure and beautiful environment.

The rural experience: the changing of the seasons, seeding, harvest, the cyclic existence of man as compared to the crops he plants within the four seasons, the peasant at work and at play - all these are dealt with in the poems and result in a simplified interpretation of country life as a contrast to the complexity and artificiality of the urban existence. The image of the city always conjured up the

dread of rootless elements and encouraged xenophobia, the antagonism to foreign persons or cultures. The farmer's life is evidence of man's fusion with the soil. Man is actually viewed as being the same as the seed he sows and the fruit he harvests. Here is one example out of many:

Der Bauer

Auswerfen den Samen auf die Schollen
Wie einen Teil von mir mit breitem Schwung!

Aus braunem Acker mit der grünen Saat
Wachse ich auf ins Frühlingslicht

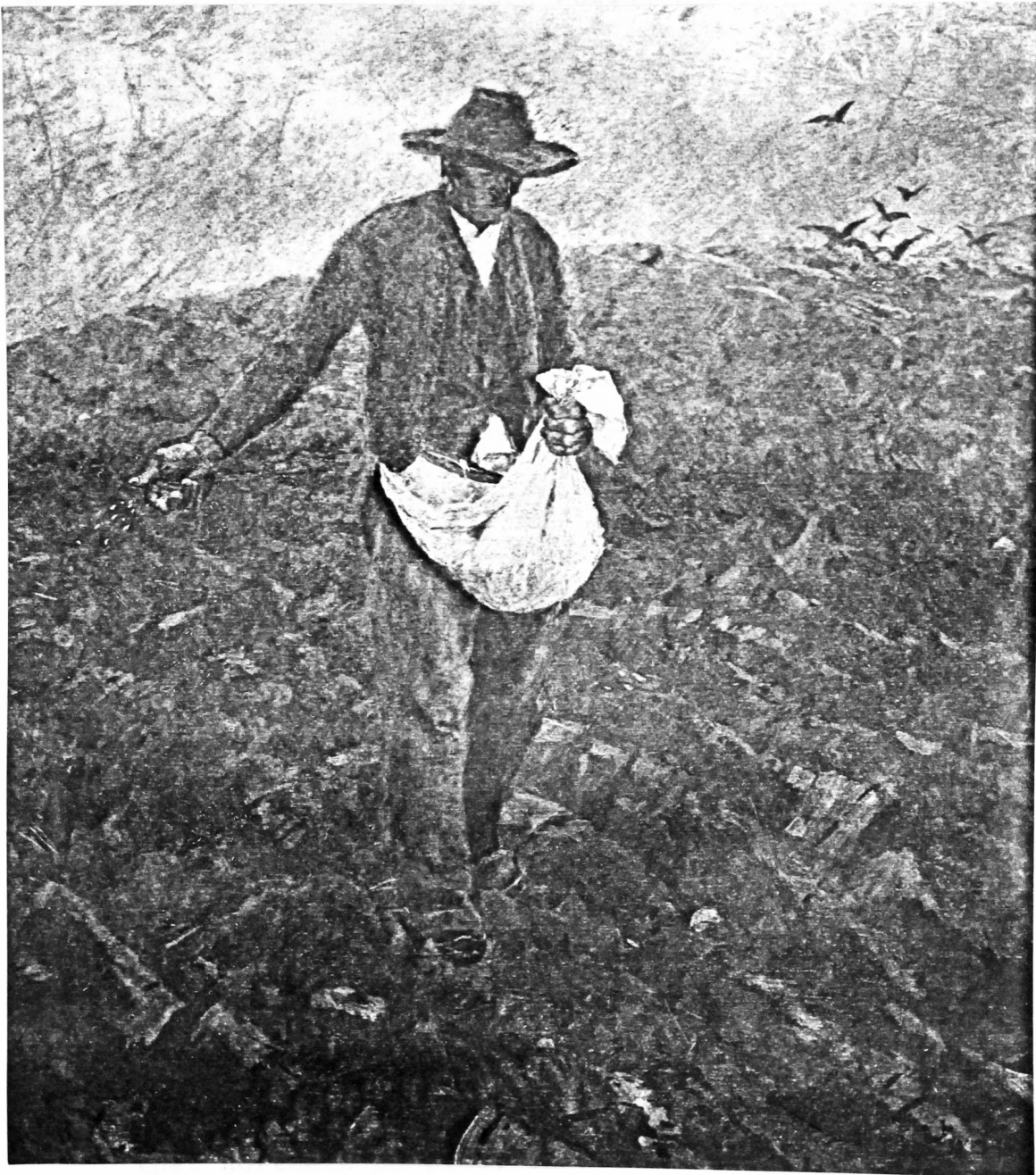
Doch sommers unter schweren Ähren,
Sitz' ich gereift in reifer Felder Kreis

Ich bin so wie alt, wie hingemäht

Jakob Wyrsch, VK 1919

Other lines which illustrate man's identification with the soil are: "Acker bin ich, beides, Schnitter und Saat" or "Erde, wir gehören zusammen." In these lines, however: "Wir alle sind Saat und Keim für Deutschlands lichtstrebiges Leben," the fusion of man to the soil takes on nationalistic meaning.

The following picture, though not taken from any of the magazines, is a perfect representation of the idea in the poem quoted in the lines above. This painting of 1902 by the well-known Albin Egger-Lienz shows the idealization of the farmer was not restricted to the work of mediocre talents.



Der Sämman
von
Albin Egger Lienz (1902)

Faith in the Soil

A Nature Religion

Surprisingly enough these poems in journals for middle class families are not very religious in a Christian sense. Faith in Volk and nation are substituted for faith in Christ. "Hope" and "faith" are recurring words, but the "hope" and "faith" called for apply to a belief in Germany's destiny: "Ach, glaubten wir an Heimat, Volk und Land // Wir höben unsre liebe deutsche Erde // In Glanz und Glut bis an des Himmels Rand."

Hope for Germany and faith in its destiny are often expressed through light or sun imagery, symbolizing the brightness of a new tomorrow. The image of the Volk, marching forward, looking upward to the light, is a frequent gesture in the poems and is characteristic of propagandistic myth-making, nationalistic art. "Ein neues Morgenrot," "Deutschlands Fluren goldner Sonnenschein," "der Freiheit Morgen," "Deutschlands lichtstrebiges Leben" or the "Hellre Zukunft" - this kind of imagery can be linked with a growing solar occultism and paganism in the late nineteenth century.

It had adherents as early as 1848. . . . A common explanation of the origin of such worship contended that northern peoples, inhabitants of foggy regions, expressed a natural longing for the sun, which to them represented light, hope and the conceptual center of the cosmos. It was also claimed that the cycle of the sun mirrored one's own experience.

When it broke from the clouds, man's spirit would respond by joyfully and victoriously ascending toward the glowing orb. The gloom of night had given way to the long-awaited festival of the changing sun; again its recurrence had marked the triumphs of indomitable and eternal rebirth . . . (the concept of karma).¹⁶

In völkisch thought such mysticism was limited by a nationalistic function. The following lines combine the call for faith and regeneration of the country with the image of the Volk marching forward, heads held high towards the sun, filled with confidence in the power to save itself.

Glaubet nur . . .

. . .

Doch wir sind schwach und siech, weil wir nicht wollen,
 Ach, glaubten wir an Heimat, Volk und Land,
 Wie höben unsre liebe deutsche Erde
In Glanz und Glut bis an des Himmels Rand
Verscheucht die grauen Zweifel eurer Seele,
Schaut auf zur Sonne, die auf Höhen flammt,
Steilauf sollt ihr die engen Wege schreiten,
 Da stirbt kein Volk, das sich nicht selbst verdammt!

. . .

Wilhelm Lennemann, GL 1921

In völkisch ideology faith in regeneration, so basic to the Christian religion, turns into faith in the rebirth of Germany. This national rejuvenation is symbolized by baptismal water imagery. It is not a personal God as in Christianity but Germany as a national ideal which rejuvenates the individual and ennobles him.

Oft sass ich an deinen Quellen . . .

Oft sass ich an deinen Quellen,
 Deutschland
 Kühle tief in ihren Wellen
 Meine tagesmüden Lider,
 Trank aus ihrer Klarheit wieder
 Unbegreiflich hohe Freude!
 Neugeadelt in die Weite
 Schritt ich dann von deinen Quellen,
 Deutschland!

So strong are these sources of national rejuvenation
 that even the disaster of defeat could not bury them
 completely:

Doch nun sind sie all verschüttet,
 Deutschland!
 Und der Bergsturz wälzte schwer
 Drüber seine Massen her.
 Doch wenn ich verhalten lausche,
 Meine ich, tief unten rausche
 Leise und ferne deine Quelle,
 Deutschland!

Bruno Lampadius, GL 1919

Völkisch thought combined the glorification of the peasant with a simple heartfelt religion as an undogmatic, watered-down Christianity not hemmed in by theological orthodoxy and thus free to fuse with the life spirit originating in a pantheistic cosmos. The poem cited below is a kind of pagan prayer with overtones from the 23rd Psalm. However, the function of nurturing, rejuvenating, consoling, protecting and blessing, which is the function of the Lord, now is taken over by the soil - the mother.

23rd Psalm

Der Herr ist mein Hirte

. . .

Du bist bei mir

. . .

Mir mangelt nichts

Er weidet mich auf einer
grünen Aue und führet mich
zum frischen Wasser

Er erquicket meine Seele

Und ob ich schon wanderte
im finstern Tal, fürchte ich
kein Unglück, denn du bist
bei mir

Du salbest mein Haupt mit Öl
und schenkest mir voll ein

Meiner Erde

Erde, wir gehören zueinander
Wie Mutter und Kind
Die von Inbrunst und Liebe
Ganz durchflossen sind

Du nährst mich

Alle meine Nöte finden in dir
friedsamste Ruh.

In den Gründen meiner Seele
gärt es wie junger Wein

deines Herzens Schlag
leitet mich sorglich durch
den wirren Tag

Meine Acker grünen und reifen,
aufflammt mein Wille zur Tat

. . .
Über mir leuchten die Himmel
In mir ist Sonne und licht.

. . .

Wilhelm Lennemann, GL 1920

God, the life force, resided in nature and certainly not in the cities. An integral part of völkisch nature-religion was animosity toward the cities. The cities were associated with the Jews, proletarians, the steaming factories, artificiality, immorality, materialism, unrest - everything that was equated with modernity and unfit for man and God. Urban dislocation or "uprootedness" had deprived people of God. God dwelled in his own creation, nature, not a merely made-made environment. The poem "Die Geige" expresses disdain for the proletarian noise (as contrasted with God's violin) and ugliness of the cities where the

uprooted live, as well as the idea that God - some kind of God - dwells only in nature, having been pushed far away by urbanization and industrialization. It also implies that in modern times God is barely audible anymore, but not quite forgotten.

Die Geige

Der Gott, den unsre Städtenicht mehr kennen,
 Lebt stillverborgen in dem fernsten Tal der Welt.
 Er spielt auf einer braunen Geige leise Lieder,
 Von denen ab und zu ein Wiederklingen
 Im Winde ist, der durch die Strassen geht.
 Dann sind die Kinder plötzlich still im Spiele,
 Und auf dem Angesicht der Greise liegt ein
 Leuchten,
 Als seien sie schon heimgekehrt.
 Die Amsel auf dem Dache schweigt.
 Die laute Strasse wird zur stillen Kirche.
 Ein Atemholen währt die Feier . . .
 Sirenen heulen wieder durch Fabriken . . .
 Fern, fern im tiefsten Tal der Welt
 Spielt Gott die leise braune Geige.

Hans Gäfgen, WM 1920

Salvation or rejuvenation after death in the Christian sense was not in this völkisch religion. With death we return to the soil.

Meiner Erde

. . .

Wir schaffen in ewigen Kreisen, und rundet sich mein Los
 Lieg' wieder ich wie ein Kindlein in meiner Mutter Schoss!

Wilhelm Lennemann, GL 1920

Der Bauer

. . .

Ich bin wie alt, wie hingemäht,
So lieg' ich zwischen toten Garben
Und zwischen Früchten, welche starben,
Doch wenn in Ackers Bettelfarben
Ich eines Winterabends spät
In breitem Wurf mich ausgesät,
Weiss ich, dass bald mein neues Leben aufersteht.

Jakob Wyrsch, VKM 1919

"Earth to earth, dust to dust" in this religion only
means the completion of the biological cycle.

FOOTNOTES

¹Uwe Ketelsen, Völkisch-nationale und national sozialistische Literatur in Deutschland 1890-1945, (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1976), p. 33.

²Ibid., p. 33.

³Ibid., p. 31.

⁴George Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich, (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1964), p. 3.

⁵Ibid., pp. 6-7.

⁶Ibid., p. 7.

⁷Ibid., p. 7.

⁸Ketelsen, p. 33.

⁹Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁰Mosse, p. 52.

¹¹Ibid., p. 4

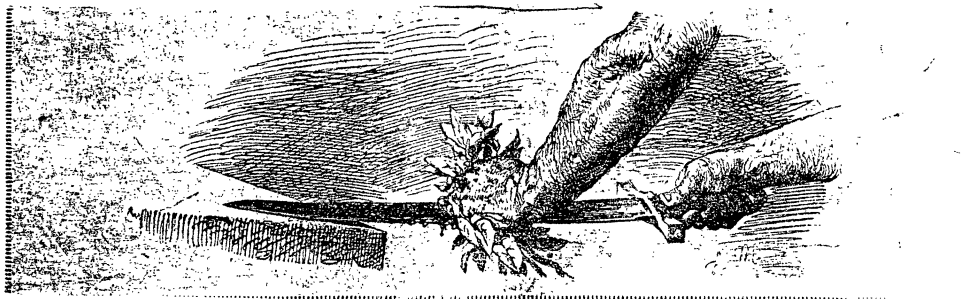
¹²Ketelsen, p. 74.

¹³Ibid., p. 45.

¹⁴Mosse, p. 67.

¹⁵Ketelsen, p. 75.

¹⁶Mosse, p. 72.



WM January 1919

CHAPTER IV

THE WAR

Defeat Denial Defiance

In previous chapters we have dealt with poems in the three magazines as far as they touch upon thematic and aesthetic tendencies that were intrinsic to middle class Trivialliteratur during the middle of the 19th century. How far these tendencies became politically explicit will be seen in the poems dealing with concrete political issues of the time 1919-1921. Although the war was over, its consequences were strongly felt.

In 1919 Germany was exhausted, weary to the death of the war hysteria. The hunger, riots, strikes, chaos, epidemics, terrorism, mob excesses and civil war left an enormous feeling of impotence and despair. Germany had lost

1.8 million dead and over 4 million wounded: the cost in wasted talents, maimed bodies and minds, and material goods was incalculable. It is impossible to overestimate the impact of armistice and abdication upon the German people. Together those two events play a vital role in the destruction of that inherited framework of beliefs and certainties which had given Germany its particular reassurance: one which derives from a supreme confidence in a nation's collective values. Gloom, heaviness and fear are registered in the first poems which came out in 1919, expressing a loss of faith, hope and meaning in life.

Auf unsern Tagen lastet eine Schwere
 Die qualvoll-bang aus allen Dingen spricht,
 Kein Wünschen will sich eifernd mehr gebären,
 Und keine Tat bricht freudig auf zum Licht.
 Wir leben, als die da zum Tode gehen.
 Und sterben, als sei das uns schon Gewinn,
 Und in des Himmels und der Erde Wehen
 Erfühlen kaum wir noch Gesetz und Sinn.

. . .

Wilhelm Lennemann, GL 1919

. . .

Eine Schwere liegt auf allen Dingen,
 Nicht ein Glöcklein will zum Morgen klingen.
 Tastend schreiten wir durch dunkle Nacht,
 Und ein Bangen, das uns mutlos macht.

Wilhelm Lennemann, GL 1919

The sheer crying out in need is expressed in these lines:

Lass die Not der Zeit uns enden,
Dass wir wieder fröhlich werden
Hier auf dieser armen Erden

Gib uns, Gott im Himmel, Frieden, Arbeit und Brot!
Erbarm' dich, Herr der Völker, der grossen,
deutschen Not.

Some of these poems are more convincing simply because they convey genuine loss and personal grief and pain.

During the war "farewell" - "so oft gedankenlos (ge)sagt" - had taken on a new tragic meaning with the realization that a loved one would not return . . . "er kam nicht wieder".

"Auf Wiedersehn!"

. . .

Es kam der Krieg. Und jede graue Stunde
Erweckt dies Wort auf müdem Menschenmunde
Und macht es heilig, reich und inhaltschwer;
Nennt keiner mehr dies Wort gedankenleer.
Die Lippen, die den leeren Laut beleben,
Sie wurden schmal und bleich, sie lernten beben,
Und unser Denken füllt sein Sinn nun aus.
Schon mancher zog mit diesem Gruss hinaus,
Der folgte ihm getreu und allerwegen
Und sprach von Hoffnung, klang wie lautrer Segen
Aus frommen Herzen in die Seele nieder.
Und doch . . . er kam nicht wieder . . .
Drum wer dies Wort aus tiefstem Grund versteht,
Der spricht es leise, fromm wie ein Gebet.

Freiherr von Haerdtl, WM 1919

The anguish of the homeless is expressed in these lines:

Du Mühle im Tal-
Zum letztenmal
Schau ich dein trauliches Dach,
Du rauschest den Gruss
Dem scheidenden Fuss
So bang und kummervoll nach.

. . .

Mich trieb zum Haus
Der Feind hinaus,
Sein Hass folgt drohend mir nach.
Zum letztenmal,
Du Mühle im Tal,
Grüss' ich dein trauliches Dach.

Louis Engelbrecht, WM 1920

Sympathy lay with refugees and displaced persons and
there is the call for collective help.

Gedenke der Flüchtlinge!

Du hast behalten, was dein war;
Heimat und Herd
Wenn er auch noch so klein war,
Bleib unversehrt.
Trägst nur die harten Zeiten
Getreulich mit,
Mit den Gebrochnen zu schreiten
In gleichem Tritt.

Sieh die Vertriebnen, Verwaisten,
Ein Bündelchen Habe,
Die bis zum Herzen Vereisten
Am eigenen Grabe!
Fühle, es sind deine Brüder,
Kinder der gleichen Erde!
Breite die Arme, dass wieder
Heimat ihnen werde!

Agnes Harder, GL 1921

This poet sees a land without men, of grieving widows
and mourning mothers:

Es spricht wie Leid aus dieser Landschaft Zügen,
Es ist, als säh' ich viele Mütter trauern
Und hinter weissgetünchten Fachwerkmauern
Im Kummer Witwen ihre Kinder wiegen.

Karl Frank, GL 1919

The call for sympathy can turn into a call for national
unity and defiance. The following poem is worth quoting in

its entirety because it shows the power of words to manipulate.

Rückwandererhilfe

Es zehrt der Gram um deutsches Unterliegen,
Um schicksalhaften Sturz an deutscher Seele,
In deutschen Herzen ward die Trauer Gast
Und tiefer Schmerz um unser herrlich Volk.
Doch bar des Hoffens jammert nur der Zage,
Ein edel Volk erweist sich edler nur
Galäutert von des Schicksals Hammerschlägen.
So werde deutsches Leid zu deutschem Segen.

Wenn eine Welt in Deutschenhass entflammt:
Wohlan, so wollen wir, was deutsch und unser
Nur um so fester indie Seele schliessen.
Und unsre Herzen sollen jeden Schlag
In jedem deutschen Herzen beben fühlen,
Als sei des Bruders, sei der Schwester Kummer
Der eigene. Ihr Leid sei unser Leid
Zu trocknen ihre Tränen wollen wir
So heiss uns mühn, als flöss' die scheue Zähre
Aus eignem Aug' der eignen tiefen Not.

Nie soll uns Feindeshabsucht je entreissen,
Was unsrer Seele Gold: die deutsche Treue!¹

Rudolf Kindt, GL 1921

The words deutsch and Volk are hammered in and are given a magical, mystical effect in their monotonous repetition - "deutsches Unterliegen," "deutsche Seele," "deutsches Herz," "deutsches Leid," "deutscher Segen."

By combining such formulae with other emotionally stirring words ("Deutschenhass," "Schicksals Hammerschläge," "Feindeshabsucht," "der Gram," "die Trauer," "deutsches Leid," "der Zage," "die Not," "Tränen"), the poet is able to unite paranoia and self-pity to make these emotions serviceable in binding the Germans together.

To understand the upsurge of nationalism after defeat, we must keep in mind how unprepared the German people had been for the defeat and, therefore, how unacceptable it was.

By the middle of 1918 it had become increasingly clear that the Central Powers were going to lose the Great War. This truth was kept from the home front. Accurate war reports simply were not given. The German nation had sacrificed its wealth and its health to the war effort. The Allied blockade had put Germany on, or just beyond, the hunger line, although it had not made the nation defeatist. By the autumn of 1918 the army was beginning to show signs of deteriorating fast. By September 1918 the High Command issued orders to be prepared for total breakdown of military discipline. When soldiers finally returned home from the front, they found Germany in a state of bewilderment, unable to reconcile defeat with optimistic communiques sent back from the front. The poem below describes the return of the "undefeated" army in January 1919 and expresses the frustration of the civil population who greet the heroes of the "unbroken front". They cannot give the returning army a victor's welcome. They have only exhaustion, poverty and tears of welcome.

An das heimkehrende Heer

Ihr zieht mit eurem Feldmarschall
 Erhaben-stumm nach Hause;
 Euch grüsst nicht Chor noch Glocken hall
 Noch Massenfestgebrause;
 Euch grüsst kein Schaumwein im Pokal

Doch manche stille Träne-
 So zieht ihr ein, die Wangen fahl
 Und festgepresst die Zähne!

Und doch, die Augen sind durchsonnt
 Von einem grimmen Feuer:
 Du Heer der ungebrochenen Front
 Du bist uns zwiefach teuer!

. . .

Ihr kehrt nun mit dem Feldmarschall
 Nach Hause - unbezwungen!

. . .

So schlürft euch die November Stadt
 In ihre graue Mauer.
 Wir selber sind vom Darben matt
 Und matt von Seelentrauer.
 Wir können nicht, o tapfres Heer,
 Mit Glockenklang dich lohnen -
 Wir haben keine Glocken mehr,
 Sie wurden zu Kanonen.

. . .

Friedrich Lienhard, WM 1919

No matter how the returning soldiers really felt, in the poetry of our magazines, the heroic image of the soldier and of war survived the misery of defeat. Such heroics had its history.

Some Germans actually entered the war convinced that they were defending the homeland in the same cause that the pilgrims entered the Holy Land, as illustrated in these lines: „So ziehn wir hin zum Schutz der Heimaterde, // Wie jene Pilger einst zum heil'gen Land. // Gott will es! // Und wir wollen es dazu." There was an elevation of nationalism to an almost religious pathos. In "Auferstehen," for instance, we see a fusion of the political with the religious in the interpretation of the Easter message.

Christ's resurrection coupled with the greening of the land again in spring is used as a symbol of Germany's longed-for resurrection, "Auferstehen" and "Aufbruch" being used interchangeably. The fusion of the national with the religious sphere sanctioned the political by linking it with the transcendental.²

Walter Flex, a young officer and one of Germany's most beloved war authors, who himself died in battle in 1917, is characteristic of the man who idealistically overcomes all love of self and every trace of self-will to devote his whole life and soul to Prussia. The religious character of his national devotion is reflected in Flex's letter:

I am today as willing to volunteer for the war as on the day it broke out. I am willing not, as many think, out of national but out of ethical fanaticism . . . I have always maintained that human development reaches its most perfect form for the individual and his inner development in his love for his nation. I believe that the German spirit reached in August 1914 a height no other people had previously seen. This is my faith, my pride and my happiness, which lifts me above all personal worries.³

But to the many who entered the war in 1914 with the same idealism of Walther Flex, returning to a defeated and humiliated Germany in 1919 deprived of heroism was demasculating and depressing. The poet of the following lines is one soldier who would rather be a dead hero than face the humiliation of defeat.

Der Mühle im Tal

. . .

Der Heimat Glück -
Bleib sterbend zurück -
Dass ich gestorben wär!

Gestorben im Feld
Als deutscher Held
Umbraust vom Siegesgesang

. . .

Louis Engelbrecht, WM 1920

Some of the poems would support a generalization like the following:

There is no country in modern history in which the "divine majesty of war," as Treitschke once put it, has as consistently been celebrated as in Germany. The Germans have always been more fascinated by the idea of war, by war as a romantic and metaphysical principle of creativity, than horrified by war as a brutal reality.⁴

The author of the lines below sees war as a part of God's plan, evidence of the cyclic nature of existence and actually a part of the principle of creativity.

Zu Beschluss und Beginn

. . .

Niederlage treibt den Geschlagenen zum Sieg

. . .

Im Frieden schläft Krieg
Kampf gebiert Versöhnung

. . .

An seinen Schmerzen soll ein Volk gesunden
Rosen sollen blühen aus seinen Wunden
Denn die Welt ist Gottes Spiel.

Friedrich Hussong, GL 1920

Occasionally, the image of the soldier and of war presented in the post-war poetry suggests the glorification of the soldier in the works of the early Ernst Jünger. Ernst Jünger was a spokesman for those driven by dissatisfaction with our civilization to search for the grand gesture. "He stood for what has been called 'adventurism.' He may, therefore, be called a German T. E. Lawrence [Lawrence of Arabia]." ⁵ Jünger belonged to the generation of those who volunteered for the war. For most, the "ideas of 1914" remained a relatively intellectual concept.

For Jünger, however, the war was more than a political and intellectual phenomenon; it was an adventure. The sight of an outgoing regiment gave Jünger the impression of "blood, roses and splendid tears." ⁶

Battle, as recorded in Jünger's war books is a magic delight.

It is a "magnificent show of destruction" and a splendid miracle: a transformation of the bourgeois into the adventurer. It is the birth-hour of a new "type" - the "warrior," who overcomes the meaninglessness of yesterday by a rediscovery of cosmic values and is the resurrected man of the twentieth century. ⁷

In this picture from WM 1919 the Warrior, halo and all, modeled after the "Kriegsmann" of the Crusades in shining armor, is visually glorified.

Although Germany was in some trouble and in spite of the incredible losses caused by the war, the German people "Why?" or "For what?" are never asked for the sake of Ch. Vka. and the "Defeat in the First World War" was caused



Kurt Kempin:

Der Feldhauptmann

Although Germany was in deep trouble and in spite of the incredible losses caused by the war, the questions of "Why?" or "For what?" are never asked by the poets of the GL, VKM, and WM. Defeat in the First World War was considered a part of a pattern of heroic realism and did not disillusion the Germans in the pursuit of the belief that no sacrifice had been too great to give for "God," "Heimat" and "Kaiser"! On the contrary, their defeat confirmed their belief in their distinctiveness and in their moral superiority over their victors. The following poem describes a soldier's memories of the fighting in the trenches. It is an example of the interpretation of war and defeat as a refreshing adventure, an opportunity to develop great virtue and the best qualities; a sense of sacrifice, honor, comradeship, courage and exalted suffering. The brutal reality of war is replaced by the heroic reality in this poet's interpretation, which ran certainly counter to the expressionist outcry. This poet considers it a privilege, höchstes Glück, and would gladly serve again.

Und doch -

Im warmen Heim. Der Regen rinnt und rinnt
 Und pocht beharrlich an die Fensterscheiben.
 Das Feuer knistert. Und die Stille sinnt
 Hinaus ins abendliche Kleinstadttreiben.
 Und die Erinnerung steht auf und naht
 Durch Traum und Dunkel aus verschwiegenen Toren
 Und setzt sich her und raunt von blut'ger Saat
 Und einer Ernte, die in Nacht verloren.

Ein Tag wie heute war's im fremden Land:
 Knietief im Wasser standen wir und harreten
 Der letzten Stunde still im Unterstand
 Und liessen unberührt die Spielerkarten.
 Und wussten nichts von Heim und Wiedersehn
 Und wussten nur um unsres Landes Ehre
 Un sahn im Wind zerfetzte Fahnen wehn -
 Dann kam der Sturm und rief an die Gewehre.

Und hörten nichts als Wimmern, Stöhnen, Schrein
 Und schauten nichts als Trümmer, Blut und Leichen
 Und drangen in zerfallne Gräben ein -
 Allein der Feind hielt Wacht. Wir mussten
 weichen.
 Und doch und doch: Wir blickten nicht zuruck
 Und sahen eine hellre Zukunft tagen -
 Wohl war es Weh, und war doch höchstes Glück
 Fürs Vaterland so Last und Leid zu tragen.

Karl Jünger, GL 1920

In spite of the incongruous romantic cliché of the "zerfetzte Fahnen" in trench warfare, there is a touch of Jünger spirit, even if only remembered and nostalgically removed. In this and all other relevant poems in the three publications war is never senseless.

Idealism is offered to temper the reality of suffering and sacrifice to make it worthwhile. Instead of critical thinking about the recent past and the future, there is unbridled, romantic oversimplification and emotional outpourings about Germany's great tomorrow expressed in idealistic vagaries such as these: "Glanz und Morgenröte," "Deutschlands Fluren goldner Sonnenschein," "der Freiheit Morgen," "Deutschlands lichtstrebiges Leben," "eine hellre Zukunft," "ein neues Bund," "neues Blühen," and "Ein neu Geschlecht auf den Wegen singend." The following poem

pleads to throw off depression, defeatism, and doubt to maintain faith in the "higher ideals" and the future of Heimat, Volk and Land.

Glaubet nur . . .

. . .
 Doch wir sind schwach und siech, weil wir
 nicht wollen,
 Ach glaubten wir an Heimat, Volk und Land,
 Wir höben unsre liebe deutsche Erde
 In Glanz und Glut bis an des Himmels Rand.
 Verscheucht die grauen Zweifel eurer Seele,
 Schaut auf zur Sonne, die auf Höhen flammt,
 Steilauf sollt ihr die engen Wege schreiten,
 Da stirbt kein Volk, das sich nicht selbst
 verdammt!

The poems express the sentiments of those Germans, animated by a new fanatical faith, who believed that they were living in a unique time of decision when almost anything could happen if willed with wholehearted determination and faith. This is expressed in this rather Baroque-sounding poem, "Vaterland":

Vaterland

Die Männer meines Volkes, die sitzen gefangen umher,
Ich seh's an ihren Augen, das Herz ist ihnen schwer,
Sie tragen in der Seele getreu der Heimat Bild,
Heiß brennt's in ihre Ehre, wenn man auf Deutschland schilt.

Ach Deutschland, teures Deutschland! Wer hätte die Heimat nicht lieb!
Vergib uns, Gott im Himmel, wie wir vergeben — gib
Uns ehrliches Erkennen, gib Frieden, Arbeit, Brot!
Erbarm' dich, Herr der Völker, der großen deutschen Not! ...

Wir werden nicht versinken in Hassen und Bluten und Tod;
Wir werden nicht ertrinken, ob abgrundtief unsre Not;
Wir werden beten lernen zu einem lebendigen Gott.
Deutschland wird Deutschland bleiben trotz seiner Feinde Spott.

Geht nicht ein neues Schwingen ganz heimlich durch deutsches Geländ'?
Will nicht ein Band umschlingen vieltausend willige Händ'?
Band einer neuen Liebe, wie man sie nie gekannt —
So wirst du auferstehen, mein Land, mein Vaterland!

Und schlagen sie uns in Ketten, wir brechen die Ketten entzwei
Und werden — ein Volk — uns erheben mit übermächtigem Schrei,
Daß wieder Kindeskinde sich tragen im Ehrengewand —
So mußt du auferstehen, mein Land, mein Vaterland!

Johanna Wolff

The last verse expresses the rejection of the Treaty of Versailles and the demand for Germany's resurrection through political action which would restore German honor.

FOOTNOTES

¹Underlining mine.

²Horst Jarka, "Soldatenbriefe des Ersten Weltkrieges und Nationale Bildungsideologie," Monatshefte, Vol. 67., No. 2, 1975, p. 164.

³Hans Kohn, The Mind of Germany: The Education of a Nation, (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), p. 303.

⁴Klemens von Klemperer, Germany's New Conservatism: Its History and Dilemma in the Twentieth Century, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 182.

⁵Ibid., p. 161.

⁶Ibid., p. 182-183.

⁷Ibid., p. 183.

CHAPTER V

SPECIFIC POST-WAR ISSUES

The poems under study in this chapter are directly political in that they reflect a response by GL, VKM and WM to concrete political decisions and acts which occurred as a result of the War, the Revolution, the founding of the Weimar Republic and the Treaty of Versailles. Quotes from well known historians will serve as a background for the discussion of the poems in this chapter.

Reliance on power, a feeling of superiority, and a disregard for moral concerns have been offered as factors which led Germany into the war of 1914 and, in spite of some very great military successes, into defeat. The years immediately after the war were filled with great disappointment and disillusion.

The first four years of the Republic were years of almost uninterrupted crisis, a true time of troubles. The bloody civil war, the reemergence of the military as a factor in politics, the failure to discredit the aristocratic-industrial alliance that had dominated the Empire, the frequency of political assassinations and the impunity of political assassins, - all this gave new hope to monarchists, to fanatical militarists, to anti-semites and xenophobes of all sorts, to industrialists at first frightened by the specter of socialization and contemptuous of Socialists who would not socialize, and served to make the Republic appear a fraud or a farce.¹

Rejection of the Revolution

Symptomatic of the general dissatisfaction of the middle class was the reaction to the Revolution of 1918. That there were positive or favorable reactions as well, particularly at the outset, goes without saying and is clear from the result of the elections for the National Assembly in January 1919. "Opposed to the revolution were those individuals and groups who had vested interests in the defunct regime: the military caste, the conservative party, the Pan Germans and numerous government officials."² They urged the homeland to stand behind the army, strong, united, and ready for sacrifice. They regarded the army as undefeated and capable of indefinite resistance. "So they propagated the idea of the 'stab in the back' which was later forged into an effective propaganda slogan, whereby democracy was accused of 'having betrayed the Fatherland out of weakness and innate timidity.'"³ Thus in these lines from "Die Mühle im Tal," der Verrat clearly refers to the legend of an undefeated Germany stabbed in the back at home by "Jews" and "communists."

Die Mühle im Tal

. . .

Dass ich gestorben war!

Gestorben im Feld
 Als deutscher Held
 Umbräuse von Siegesgesang,
 Eh der Verrat
 Die keimende Saat
 Und Ruhm und Ehre verschlang.

. . .

Louis Engelbrecht, WM 1920

That this apologetic distortion was uncritically and widely accepted is proven by the fact that the "stab in the back" legend is mentioned specifically five times in the poetry of the three publications which had wide circulation and influence.

Rejection of the Weimar Republic

The fall of the Hohenzollern dynasty at the end of the war and the proclamation of the Republic did not establish liberal democracy in Germany. The German people were untrained in the practice and responsibility of self-government; democracy seemed an importation from the West unsuited to the German mind. Most middle class Germans regarded the Republic only as an interim state; in fact many refused to even call it a state.

The idea of the sovereignty of the people had been regarded by most Germans as an ugly revolutionary notion . . . By its very existence the Republic was a calculated affront to the heroes and clichés that every German child knew, many politicians invoked, and it turned out, most Germans cherished. In the battle of historical symbols the republicans were at a disadvantage from the start: compared with Bismarck and other charismatic leaders, at once superhuman and picturesque [the Teutons, Luther, Frederick II], the models available to Weimar were pallid and uninspiring⁴

There were no heroes and no heroics. And the German people missed them.

The full devotion to Bismarck and the house of Hohenzollern produced that profound aversion to democracy which was characteristic of many Germans charged with the myth of the Prussian-German past. The Weimar government inspired neither awe nor utopian hopes.⁵

The author of the following poem expresses disdain for the Germany of the Weimar Republic, das Parteienland, and longs for the old pride of Prussia:

Fahnenlied von 1919.

Sie wehten über Jährbellin
Und Runersdorf und Leuthen,
Sie hielten selbst noch bei Collin
Den Schwur gleich treuen Bräuten.

Sie grüßten Leipzig, Waterloo —
Gebans' berühmte Döbäule,
Sie führten strahlend, stolz und froh
Zu Tannenberg's Mirakel.

Wo sind sie jezt — wo sind sie jezt?
Der Sturm segt in den Lüften —
Hat er ihr Ehrenkleid zerfezt
Zum nadden Schlaf in Gräften?

O gute Leute, glaubt es nicht!
Sie sind nicht untergangen.
Sie schlafen nicht, sie starben nicht,
Sie sind nur schmerzumfangen.

Sie sind umflort — ihr fühlst zur Nacht
Ihr Wehen und ihr Klagen,
Wenn schwarze Wolken über Mond
Und alte Sterne jagen.

Hört ihr den Fahnenruf — gesandt
Den niedrigsten Gehäusen?
Sie suchen im Parteienland
Den alten Stolz von Preußen.

Sophie Hochstetter.

Rejection of the Treaty of Versailles

In this poetry the negative reaction to the Weimar Republic is overshadowed by the far more general and more deep-seated reaction against the Versailles Treaty and the regime which signed it. The Versailles Treaty imposed heavy economic and political burdens on defeated Germany.

It returned Alsace-Lorraine to France, split off East Prussia from the heart of Germany by turning over West Prussia, Upper Silesia, and Posen to Poland, made Danzig a Free City, gave Belgium some small districts, left open the disposition of other border areas to later plebiscites, deprived Germany of her colonies, forbade the union of Austria with Germany, imposed military occupation on the left bank of the Rhine, reduced the German Army to 100,000 men, put an end to the General Staff, and in other ways attempted to control German militarism. Most unacceptable - certainly most inflammatory - of all the provisions were the articles that deprived the Germans of that intangible thing, "honor."⁶

The psychological impact the treaty had on the whole nation was enormous.

The provisions of the Versailles Treaty cut to the quick the prevalent, highly developed sentiment of nationalism. Inasmuch as it curtailed the power of the nation, deprived it of its prestige, attacked its traditions, and impaired its integrity, it was regarded as a fatal thrust against social values held and shared by the vast majority of Germans . . . The negative reaction to the Treaty was practically unaffected by the antagonisms that divided the German people on other issues. Reactionaries and communists joined hands in opposition to the Treaty . . . "We prefer to sacrifice everything and to fight to the last man rather than accept as cowards a peace that is against our honor. Contemptible is the nation which does not offer its life gladly for the sake of its honor." This resolution, adopted by the students and faculty of the University of Breslau, was characteristic of the thousands of

resolutions that swamped the government. "Inhumane," "unbearable," "enslavement," "disastrous for the world," "cruel injustice," "shame" were the terms applied to the Treaty.⁷

"Enslavement," a Germany in chains - the chains of reparations, military occupation, and the attempts to control German militarism by reducing Germany's army to 100,000 - is the most often repeated image of post-war Germany in the poems studied. Here are several examples:

In Feindes Fesseln schmachtet eure Mutter [Germany]
(GL 1921)

Irgendwann müssen sich einmal Öffnen unsre
Gefängnistüren;
Irgendwann muss uns wieder ein Weg ins Freie
führen.
(WM 1920)

Geborstene Ketten klirren und heil'ge Stürme wehn:
Heut sind die Tage der Ostern und ist ein
Auferstehn!
(GL 1919)

Irgendwann wird alle Fesseln, die uns die Brust
beengen,
Ein himmeln stürmendes Trutz-und Siegeslied
sprengen.
(WM 1920)

Und schlagen sie uns in Ketten, wir brechen die
Ketten entzwei
Und werden - e i n Volk - uns erheben mit
übermächtigem Schrei.
(WM 1919)

In addition to the revolution and the Treaty of Versailles, there were other situations after the war to which people responded negatively. The reaction, however, was not quite so extensive. Among these was the problem of the occupied territories. As mentioned earlier, the Germans

have always been sentimental about the Rhine and considered it uniquely German. Although in the poetry no outright protest over the Rhine settlement is expressed, it is sentimentalized by way of two reprints of older poems about the Rhine: Clemens Brentano's "Lorelei" and the "Rheinlied" by George Herwegh. Here is the photo which appeared on the same page as the poem "Rheinlied" showing French soldiers on a bridge on the Rhine, which was sure to stir up anti-French sentiment, indignation, and defiance.

Rheinlied.

Wo solch ein Feuer noch gedeiht
und solch ein Wein noch Flammen speit,
da lassen wir in Ewigkeit
uns nimmermehr vertreiben.

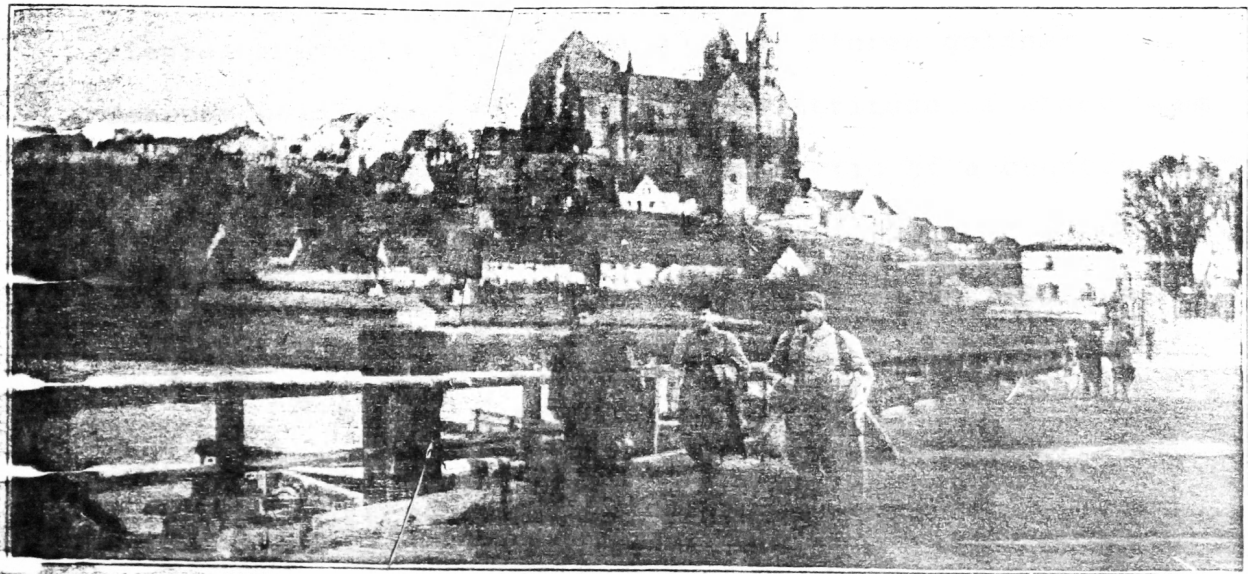
Stoßt an! Stoßt an! Der Rhein,
und wär's nur um den Wein,
der Rhein soll deutsch verbleiben.

Das Recht und Link, das Link und Recht,
wie klingt es falsch, wie klingt es schlecht!
Kein Tropfen soll, ein feiger Knecht,
des Franzmanns Mühlen treiben.

Stoßt an! Stoßt an! Der Rhein,
und wär's nur um den Wein,
der Rhein soll deutsch verbleiben.

(Oktober 1840.)

Georg Herwegh.



Franzosen auf der Rheinbrücke bei Breisach.

1870. Geogr. Anstalt.

Gartenlaube 1919

Pleas for Concrete Political Action

The Plebiscites

Two poems address plebiscites which were to decide the disposition of border areas: "Zur Abstimmung in Flensburg" and "Zur Abstimmung in Oberschlesien." The plebiscite in Flensburg was concerned with the Danish parts of Schleswig - which Bismarck had promised in the Peace of Prague of 1866 but never conceded - and was held in February and March of 1920. In the following poem a father urges his son to vote in the plebiscite in Flensburg to preserve German North Schleswig and thereby exonerate Germany's shame. The lines "Es kommt wie einst beim Düppelsturm der Tag // An dem sich neues Morgenrot wird zeigen" and "Unsre Fahnen wieder siegreich wehen, // Auf Deutschlands Fluren goldner Sonnenschein" display the prevalent attitude of chauvinism and the desire for revenge characteristic of a country which did not feel itself defeated but felt fully confident already in 1920 in resuming another war, "the new dawn," with much better prospects for enduring victory.

Zur Abstimmung in Flensburg

Nun geh, mein Sohn, gib deine Stimme ab
 Und hilf die Heimat uns erhalten,
 Für die ich einst mein junges Blut hingab,
 Wie mancher von uns grau gewordenen Alten.
 In Scherben ging das deutsche Vaterland,
 Die Sonne wich von seinen Gauen,
 Ein schwarzer Flor verhüllt den teuren Strand,
 Nach dem mit Wehmut meine Augen schauen.

Wenn auch durch unsre eigne Schmach
 Wir jetzt den Nacken müssen beugen,
 Es kommt wie einst beim Düppelsturm der Tag
 An dem sich neues Morgenrot wird zeigen
 Ich bin zu alt und werde nicht mehr sein,
 Wenn unsre Fahnen wieder siegreich wehen,
 Auf Deutschlands Fluren goldner Sonnenschein
 Und frohe Menschen wieder sind zu sehen --
 Doch nun zieh hin und dämm' des Feindes Flut
 Nimm meinen Segen zum Geleite,
 Sorg', dass die Heimat bleibt in deutscher Hut
 Und nicht aufs neue wird des Feindes Beute

Werner, GL 1920

Although the result of the plebiscite of 1920 was that the new boundary still left a Danish minority on the German side and a German minority on the Danish side, the change was considered beneficial.

Intense resentment and deep outrage, however, were demonstrated during and after the Upper Silesian settlement and are clearly expressed in the poem dedicated to that plebiscite. Here is the background of the Upper Silesian issue:

The Poles, by way of insurrection, attempted to capture the district whose fate, according to the Versailles Treaty, was to be decided by a plebiscite. Next to the Ruhr, Upper Silesia was the second largest German industrial district, and the Polish attempts to seize Upper Silesia by force, obviously undertaken with the contrivance of the French occupation forces, caused passionate resentment. The defeat of the Polish insurgents by German free-corps troops before and after the plebiscite of March 1921, which resulted in a

60 percent majority in favor of Germany, seemed in German eyes to insure the full return of the province to Germany. However, this popular assumption that as a result of the plebiscite Upper Silesia should remain German was not supported by the Versailles Treaty.

"Die Heimat ruft!" is a very long poem and need not be quoted in its entirety. Here are selected lines which are representative of themes and general attitudes toward the loss of the war and the ramifications of the Treaty of Versailles, particularly the tone of self-deception, self-pity and the desire for revenge that runs through all the post-war poetry studied here.

Die Heimat ruft!

Zur Abstimmung in Oberschlesien

Die Heimat ruft,

. . .

Die alte, treue Mutter, die euch das Leben gab

. . .

Er rufen eure Brüder, eure Schwestern,
Es ruft das Land . . .

. . .

Aus tiefen Schachten gellt ein einz'ger Schrei,

. . .

Heimat in Not!

In Feindes Fesseln schmachtet eure Mutter;

. . .

Gewalt und Unrecht fremder Schergen stiess
Den Stahl in ihre Brust; und gierig falsche Hände,
Die niemals säten, wollen ernten,
Die niemals bauten, wollen wohnen
In ihrem Haus, das auch das eure ist.

Zerbrochen liegt das Schwert, das einst es schützte
 Und siegreich Trutz bot einer Welt von Feinden.
 Schlaff hängt der Arm, der es in tausend Schlachten
 Trug stolz und frei bis an den Saum der Welt.

Soll Haus und Heimat uns verloren sein,

. . .

Nein, nimmermehr! Noch schlagen unsre Herzen,
 Wenn auch das Schwert zerspellt am Boden rostet.
 Noch lebt die Treue . . .
 Noch lebt der Glaube in uns an des Reiches Grösse!

. . .

Ans Werk, ihr Brüder, Schwestern, Mütter, Greise,

. . .

Schlesien bleibt unser! - Mag der Feind auch toben
 In Hass und Rachgier, wilder Übermacht.
 Bei uns steht Gott und unser gutes Recht.

. . .

Gott will es! Und wir wollen es dazu!

. . .

Schaut unsre Brüder fern an Schleswigs Pforten,
 Siegreich die Streiter im Masurenland:

. . .

Zum Kampf und Siege unsre Arme breiten,
 Im Tode noch der Heimat treu! - Glückauf!

Robert Kurpium, GL 1921

The reference to brothers and sisters, to the family of Germans of common bonds of "blood and language" in Schleswig and the Masurenland, illustrates the desire to restore these Germans back into the Reich.

The previously scorned principle of national self-determination, of the natural rights of men and peoples, was to become Germany's revenge. Most liberals and socialists in the Weimar Reich refused to accept the eastern borders of the new Germany and the principle of self-determination for the Poles.⁸

The poem refers to the chains of Versailles, the stab-in-the-back legend, resentment toward the attempt to control the military and the rebuilding of the army, paranoia and chauvinism.

If the poet of "Die Heimat ruft!" can speak for the readers of the three publications, it can be said that many Germans learned nothing from the war; the stupidity of war was not acknowledged although millions had paid for it with their lives. The Germany depicted in the poem is ready for another war and revenge and even seems to yearn for military action.

Although the poem "Die Heimat ruft!" is dedicated to the plebiscite in Upper Silesia, it is more of a general cry against the Treaty of Versailles and the loss of the war.

What had seemed so secure had collapsed. The Germans did not ask, What was our share in bringing about this war, which we expected to win and which we welcomed and praised as long as it promised victory? Instead they asked: How could it end in defeat? Throughout the war the Germans had demanded vast annexations and indemnities . . . Now, after their own extreme demands, which were not officially disavowed, and after the peace of Brest-Litovsk, the Germans showed themselves sincerely disturbed by the peace treaty of Versailles.⁹

Most Germans refused to accept the "war guilt" clause that Germany and its Allies were originators of the war. Instead they were consumed with self-pity as can be seen in these words: "die Klage," "ein Schrei," "die Not," "die Tränen eure Mutter (Germany)," "und müd die Hand vom ringenden

Gebet," "tränen schwer," and "ein gequält, zerrissen Land."

How could the enemies do that to them, to the Germans?

Did it not prove the immorality of the West, the hollow pretensions of all its talk about justice and civilization? The better people had lost the war: If there was justice in the world, their hour had to come. German interpretation of history became more one-sided than it had been, more German-centered, less world-open. German military valor was overvalued, that of the enemy nations was ignored. Germans asked themselves: How could so many sacrifices go unrewarded? That other nations had made sacrifices too was overlooked . . . Germans alone were truthful, manly, objective, a land of heroes facing opponents saddled with cowardice, mendacity, and baseness. The war had offered enormous hope of a Germany united as a "Volk" in its mission to restore and protect the homeland and preserve culture and mankind. Ironically, it is now generally believed that Germany emerged fundamentally unweakened from the war and the peace treaty.¹⁰

The feeling that everyone hated Germans and wanted what they had simply was not justified. Many Germans blamed the Allies for the weakness of democratic Germany. The truth, however, was that the essential framework of the Treaty of Versailles, which would have been even harsher toward Germany, was not upheld by the Allies. In fact, eventually one concession after another was made to the Weimer Republic, although certainly not in 1919 and 1920. Some concessions were made as early as 1921.

FOOTNOTES

¹Peter Gay, Weimar Culture: The outsider as insider, (New York: Paddington Press Ltd., 1978), p. 11.

²Theodor Abel, The Nazi Movement, (New York: Atherton Press, 1966), p. 22.

³Ibid., p. 23.

⁴Gay, p. 87.

⁵Ibid., p. 42.

⁶Ibid., p. 150.

⁷Abel, pp. 30-31.

⁸Hans Kohn, The Mind of Germany: The Education of a Nation, (New York: Harper & Row), p. 290.

⁹Ibid., p. 311.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 311.

CHAPTER VI

ANOTHER VOICE

The aim of much of the poetry of Chapter V is to promote the acceptance of war and minimize the depth of suffering and loss of life in the war effort. The realities of the war are continually white-washed with sentiment, oversimplification and emotional vagaries where the ugly and the unbearable are transformed into something pretty, noble and ultimately tolerable. There were no exceptions to any of the poetry about the war. But not all poets in Germany reacted to the war the same way as the poets from GL, VKM and WM. In 1919-1921 the expressionists were still writing, decrying the horrors of the war (Johannes R. Becher, Gottfried Benn, Theodor Däubler, Albert Ehrenstein, Iwan Goll, Walter Hasenclever, Jakob van Hoddis, Franz Werfel, Paul Zech et al.). These writers were a part of first class German as well as world literature. There was a big gap between the reading public and the real artists. That there was a different way of looking at the world will be illustrated in one example only, an example of what can be considered the basic experience of those years - which was partly evaded and partly faced - the War.

Im Volkston

Drei Knaben fuhr'n ins Frankenland,
Für Deutschlands Ruhm zu streiten,
Die sahn den Tod drei Monden lang
Vor ihrem Graben schreiten.
Doch als der lichte Sommer kam,
Schmückt' er den Pfad mit Nelken —
Wer weiß, ob erst drei Nägelein,
Ob erst drei Leben welken?

Der erste sprach: „Das Nelkenbeet
Blüht jetzt in Mutters Garten,
Daneben sitzt die alte Frau
Und wird der Kunde warten!“
Der andre sprach: „Mir gab mein Lieb
Den Nelkenstrauß vom Mieder.
O Brunnen tief o Fichtenbaum.
Wann gehn wir uns wohl wieder?“

Paul Steinmüller

Der dritte Knabe sann für sich
Und hat kein Wort gesprochen.
Er dachte an das alte Lied
Von Treue, die gebrochen.
Wer ungesegnet, ungeliebt
Im Frankenland muß streiten,
Den soll'n getrost drei Nägelein
Zur letzten Ruh' geleiten.

Durch Blümlein rot und Sommerwind
Der Sturm ging über die Wiese —
Zwei kehrten heil zum Graben heim,
Der dritte zum Paradiese.
Sag nun gesegnet und geliebt
Im blühenden Gelände,
Sein Bahrtuch moß der Nägeleinduft
Ihm süß um Haupt und Hände.

WM 1919

LEGENDE VOM TOTEN SOLDATEN

*Und als der Krieg im fünften Lenz
Keinen Ausblick auf Frieden bot
Da zog der Soldat seine Konsequenz
Und starb den Heldentod.*

*Der Krieg war aber noch nicht gar
Dum tat es dem Kaiser leid
Dass sein Soldat gestorben war:
Es schien ihm noch vor der Zeit.*

*Es zog die ärztliche Kommission
Zum Gottesacker hinaus
Und grub mit geweihtem Spaten den
Gefallnen Soldaten aus.*

*Und der Doktor besah den Soldaten genau
Oder was von ihm noch da war
Und der Doktor fand, der Soldat war k. v.
Und er drückte sich vor der Gefahr.*

*Und sie nahmen sogleich den Soldaten mit
Die Nacht war blau und schön.
Man konnte, wenn man keinen Helm aufhatte
Die Sterne der Heimat sehn.*

*Sie schütteten ihm einen feurigen Schnaps
In den verwesten Leib
Und hängten zwei Schwestern in seinen Arm
Und sein halb entblößtes Weib.*

*Und weil der Soldat nach Verwesung stinkt
Dum hinkt ein Pfaffe voran
Der über ihn ein Weihrauchfass schwingt
Dass er nicht stinken kann.*

*Sie malten auf sein Leichenhemd
Die Farben schwarz-weiss-rot
Und trugen's vor ihm her; man sah
Vor Farben nicht mehr den Kot.*

*Ein Herr in Frack schritt auch voran
Mit einer gestärkten Brust
Der war sich als ein deutscher Mann
Seiner Pflicht genau bewusst.*

*Mit Tschindrara und Wiedersehn!
Und Weib und Hund und Pfaff!
Und mitten drin der tote Soldat
Wie ein besoffner Aff.*

*So viele tanzten und johlten um ihn
Dass ihn keiner sah.
Man konnte ihn einzig von oben noch sehr
Und da sind nur Sterne da.*

*Die Sterne sind nicht immer da.
Es kommt ein Morgenrot.
Doch der Soldat, so wie er's gelernt
Zieht in den Heldentod.*

Bertolt Brecht

The poem "Im Volkston" and Bertolt Brecht's "Legende vom toten Soldaten" lend themselves well to comparison. Both poems deal with soldiers killed in France and are concerned with the meaning of death in war. Women, as mothers, nurses, wives or lovers have a place in the poems. The two poems are in the ballad form.

"Im Volkston" embodies many of the artistic limitations of this middle-class poetry discussed in Chapter II. The poem is an example of epigonal-romanticism, is formally insufficient and is lacking in thought. It is pseudo-romantic in title: "Im Volkston"; in form, it is a ballad; in diction: e.g. "Drei Knaben fuhren ins Frankenland," "O Brünnlein süß, O Lindenbaum"; in nature imagery: blooming, fragrant wildflowers, the moon, the summer and the summer wind; and in theme: sweet love and bitter betrayal. The poem does not address the tragedy of war but minimizes personal sacrifice and the unpleasant behind a mask of pretty imagery to make it palpable.

While the author of "Im Volkston" wants to gloss over the ugliness of war in sweetness, Brecht's poem, with its brutality and ugliness, emphasizes the horror of war and the bitter tragedy of heroism. Brecht was part of a generation which had made the discovery - unlike Walther Flex, Ernst Jünger and the poets from the three magazines - that the war was not a refreshing adventure, rather a tragic farce. For Brecht, war stinks!

Brecht's poem expresses a direct contrast to "Im Volkston" through the skepticism and intense preoccupation with the physically and morally unpleasant - death and decay. To be sure, Brecht does use romantic nature imagery, "Die Nacht war blau und schön," "Die Sterne der Heimat," "der Mond," "Lenz," and "Sommer," but the softness of this nature imagery is used ironically to heighten the contrast between the "beautiful emotionality" of heroism and the ugly reality of what it entails - death and stinking rot. The poem offers a direct reaction to the romanticism and decorative lyricism of the poem "In Volkston." Brecht was keenly aware of the dangers of muddled romanticism and emotional self-indulgence. His legend is a cry against the hollowness of forced and trained heroism. Although Brecht's poem is bitter and ugly, there is a sorrow behind it that expresses the pathos of humanity. No wonder that it was this poem that put Brecht on Hitler's blacklist already in 1925.¹ "Im Volkston" is a cheap lie in its prettiness because it refuses to acknowledge human suffering.

Brecht was not the only one who tried to break the illusions of war's grandeur. Perhaps the strongest contrast to the treatment of war and its consequences in the poems discussed in the thesis can be seen in the words with which Erich Kästner closes his "Die andere Möglichkeit." While all the poets in GL, VKM and WM never tired of bewailing

Germany's defeat, Kästner was horrified at the thought of Germany's victory and relieved that it did not occur:

Wenn wir den Krieg gewonnen hätten -
Zum Glück gewannen wir ihn nicht

Ironically, all the consequences of a German victory that he had feared, the militarization of the whole country and new wars, did in fact become a reality in the 1930's. Hitler could count on the many Germans who, despising Brecht and Kästner, followed the literary ideology partly prepared for by the middle class family magazines.

FOOTNOTES

¹Frederic Ewen, Bertolt Brecht, His Life, His Art and His Times, (New York: The Citadel Press, 1976), p. 61.

CONCLUSION

This thesis is a study of poems many of which, as works of art, are worthless. But what can be disregarded aesthetically cannot be disregarded in social terms because the poems mirror and helped to form and extend middle class attitudes prevalent in 1919-1921 and still present today.

The thesis tries to bring out a basic contradiction between escapism and passionate involvement. The first position becomes apparent in the unpolitical nature poetry (Chapter II), poetry following the escapist, "romantic" tendency so much in line with middle class traditional concepts of poetry in general.

The withdrawal signaled in this poetry can be seen within the wider social framework established decades before the specific period under discussion.

In the second half of the nineteenth century an inoffensive emptiness predominates. Romantic and Biedermeier epigones usurp newspapers, pocket-books, calendars, readers, and the "official" publicity that affects the masses. Insulation led to mustiness; the world of the village and small town was idealized apathy; the night watchman proved to be a costumed reactionary, the model of the boorish philistine who does not stick his nose beyond his four walls, who is content with God and the world, and who above all "keeps quiet," come what may. "The hand that still cherishes and tends the little garden . . . is already the one that denies asylum to the political fugitive."¹

The apolitical stance in actuality was merely a façade behind which intense politics were carried on. The many nature poems are not really nature poems and nature is not their primary concern. They express a projection - a symbolic one - where nature is defined as "land," which in turn, in völkisch thought, is defined as German land. What was called for in völkisch thought and ultimately in the Nazi Revolution was a bourgeois revolution which threatened none of the vested economic interests of the middle class and their status and property. The national defeat and the Treaty of Versailles became the symbols to which the actual frustrations of the middle class - the social one - were shifted.

The post-war poems of 1919-1921 express a very brief, momentary loss of faith, a confusion which was quickly replaced by a patent, fervent nationalism and an eagerness to rise again and go to war. The Treaty of Versailles was the fatal blow which curtailed Germany's power, deprived it of its prestige and honor, and ultimately bound it together in the demand for restored honor and the exoneration of shame. The theme of this post-war poetry of 1919-1921 could be summarized in this one word - Irgendwann - expressing the longing for victory. There is no expression of the horror of war or the loss of human life. The poets are united in considering no sacrifice too great for the Fatherland. "Der Ruf," the call, which runs through so much of the poetry, is

a call for blind faith in Germany's great mission, a yearning for heroism, honor and glory. The post-war poems of defeat, denial and defiance kindle and fan the faith in Germany and future victory. They encourage a nationalism wherein sacrifice becomes a perversion. The horror and enormity of this sacrifice is expressed in this chilling credo of a female contributor to WM; the women poets in the three magazines were not any more humane in their attitude toward war than the men:

Herr, wenn es dein heiliger Wille ist, so nimm uns
den Geliebten, den Bruder, den Sohn. Schenke ihm,
wenn es denn doch so sein muss, ein rasches, seliges
Sterben, nimm uns dazu, lass uns hungern, darben,
leiden, aber lass uns siegen!²

These words were written during the war, but nothing that is written in the magazines after the war takes them back.

One more word about the völkisch nature mysticism. It should not be simply discarded as a typically German historical aberration. The inhumanity of a technological and industrial society continues to produce alienation and dislocation which intensifies the desire for rootedness, collective unity, and a search for spirituality, as in the ecology movement. But when the frustrations are projected in terms of nation and nationalism - the potential for abuse must not be overlooked. We cannot assume that what happened in Germany was uniquely German and will never happen again.

FOOTNOTES

¹Hermann Glaser, The German Mind of the 19th Century: A Literary and Historical Anthology, (New York: Continuum, 1981), p. 198.

²Wolfgang Ehekircher, Westermanns Illustrierte deutsche Monatshefte, ihre Geschichte und ihre Stellung in der Literatur der Zeit, (Braunschweig: Westermanns Verlag, 1952), Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität zu München, 1952, p. 37.

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APPENDIX

Poets in the Gartenlaube and their Poems

- * Poets marked with asterisks are included in Gero von Wilpert's Deutsches Dichterlexikon.

Bauer, Hans - Flandrischer Acker
März
Brauer, Helene - Vorfrühling
Der Uhrmacher (Sonnet)
Spätherbst im Park
Brehm, Helene - Mein Kindchen hat im Traum gelacht
Vorfrühling
Brentano, Clemens - Lorelei
Bittrich, Max - Ostertage
Fitschen, Elonor - Der arme Narr
Fleischbauer, Fritz - Frühlingstrieb
Frank, Karl - Nach schwerer Zeit
Ruf in der Nacht
Gutberlet, Heinrich - Wandern
Harder, Agnes - Gedenke der Flüchtlinge
Heintschel, Erwin - Sturz
* Herwegh, Georg - Rheinlied
Hilme, Alfred - Gott
Hoechstetter, Sophie - Fahnenlied von 1919
Hussong, Friedrich - Zu Beschluss und Beginn
Jünger, Karl - Und doch
Kindt, Rudolf - Rückwandererhilfe
Krannhals, W. A. - Taufe
Kurpiun, Robert - Die Heimat ruft
Lampadius, Bruno - Oft sass ich an dienen Quellen . . .!
Lennemann, Wilhelm - Auferstehn
Meiner Erde
Vorfrühling
Glaubet nur
Hoffnung
Licht, Hans Lutz - Das Heilige Dorf
Marr, Charlotte - Jahreswechsel
Meissner, Carl - Rast in der Dämmerung
Moos, Josefine - Wie ein Lied entsteht
Miesel-Lesenthin, Crista - Schwelle des Alters

von Ruckteschell, Alice - Maria

Gottsucher

Schürmann, Johannes - Belgische Sonette

Graues Städtchen

Flämische Gemüseverkäuferin

Verlassener Garten in Brüssel

Sedding, Erwin - Sonne

Siemers, Kurt - Das Königreich Abend

* Sohnrey, Heinrich - Der Ackerknecht

Stange, Alexandra - Frühling

Steinbauer, Grete - Sehnsucht

Steinmüller, Paul - Ode

Sternaur, Ludwig - Fremde Stadt

Torge, Else - Der Sturm

Wagenknecht, F. - Erwachen

Werner - Zur Abstimmung in Flensburg

Wilse, Hansjürgen - Pfingsten

Zöttl, Fritz - Wiegenlied

Poets in Velhagen-und Klasings Monatshefte and their Poems

- Angermayer, F. A. - Die träumende Pagode
Berlepsch, Karl von - Der Wunsch des Tsoukhkha
Sommer morgen
Der betrogene Mond
Bittrich, Max - Reiche Tage
Sommerlachen
Spreewaldnacht
* von Bodman, Emanuel - Noch bin ich jung
Bremer, Käte - Legende vom Kind
Mondnacht
* Csokor, Franz Theodor - Don Quixote vor der Windmühle
* Dehmel, Richard - Lied an meinen Sohn
Faisst, Clara - Quellensucher
Gebot
von Festenburg - Packisch, Gustav-Odysseus und die Sirenen
Gebhart, Hermann - Mutter
Havemann, Julius - Traumland
Nachttöne
Hiesgen, Carl Paul - Die Nachtigall am Damenweg
Gebet
* Ilg, Paul - Der Waldkirschbaum
* Klabund - Liebeslied
Sommernacht
Krüger, Käthe - Marienlied
* Le Fort, Gertrud von - Der Alte
Don Juans Berufung
Kleine Buchlegende
* Lissauer, Ernst - Spruchhaftes
Liebesgedichte (fünf)
Hymnische Nacht
Lungwitz, Wilhelm - In der Kirche
* v. Münchhausen, Börries Freiherr - Der Garten der Jugend
- Nicht zu sagen (Altes Schloss)
Aufruf
* Ponten, Josef - Dichter und Publikum
Ritter, Erich - Weihnacht
Rottger, Karl - Sommerabend in der Ebene
Vor Abend
* Salus, Hugo - Wölkchen
Sehnsucht
Sandhage, Paul - Gust Leubelfing
Schanz, Frida - Volkslied
Der Wecker
Im Glück

- * Schaukal, Richard - Der alte Lehnstuhl
Mondnacht
Lied an die Liebe
- v. der Schulenberg, Sigrid Gräfin - Deutsches Lied
Die jüngste Nachtigall
- * Schussen, Wilhelm - Reise
- Schwarz, Hans - Frühlingstag
- * Seidel, Ina - Die kleine Sonnenuhr
- Siemers, Kurt - Der Bauernjunge sucht eine Frau
- Stegemann, Hermann - Der Trauermantel
- Torge, Else - Reife
- * Vesper, Will - Der Wein
- Vogel, Richard - Vieux Saxe
- Willecke, Kurt Hans - Wann wird es sein
Abend
- Wolff, Paul - Klage
- Wyrsch, Jakob - Der Bauer
- Zaeske, Johanna - Archaische Tänzerin
Rostocker Heide

Poets in Westermanns Monatshefte and their Poems

- * Bäte, Ludwig - Vorfrühling
- Behrends, Ernst - Erlösung
- Bittrich, Max - Märkische Schlossgeschichte
- Blanke, Henny - Begegnen
- Blüthgen, Clara - Die Dreimal Sel'gen
- Boozman, Richard - Feierabend
Feuertod
- * Braun, Felix - Jakob sieht Rahel im Garten
- * Bröger, Karl - Tod und Liebe
Das Haus auf der Brücke
- Castelle, Friedrich - Spruch in der Zeit
Margreit
- Doblhoff, Edith - Beim Ruf des Pirols
- Engelbrecht, Louis - In der Nacht
Die Mühle im Tal
- Gäfgen, Hans - Die Geige
- Grünwald, Alfred - Herzvöglein, flieg! . . .
- Haerdtl, Thomas Freiherr von - Aufwiedersehen
- Hardung, Victor - Werbung
von Hippel, H. - Die Hölle
- Hohl, Ernst - Frauenhände
- * Hohlbaum Robert - Aberglaube
- * Janitschek, Maria - Herbstgedanken
Abschiedsstimmung
- * Koenig, Alma Johanna - Das Haus im Frühling
- Kudnig, Fritz - Irgendwann
- Lamszus, Wilhelm - Der Heimgekehrte
- * Lienhard, Friedrich - An das heimkehrende Heer
An Meister Hans Thoma
- * Lissauer, Ernst - Orgelländer (Aus dem Zyklus "Anton
Bruckner")
Gelassene Stunde
- Mahlke, Franz - Frühling im Dorf
- * von Münchhausen, Börries Freiherr - Lasst mich . . .!
Sonntagabend
- * Petzold, Alfons - Die Verdammung
Der Fanatiker
- * Rainalter, Erwin H. - Baum in der Heimat
- Richter, Helmut - An Karl Hauptmann
- Rudorff, Hanns - Bücher
- * Schaukal, Richard - Herbstnacht
- Schoene, Elmar - Vorfrühling
- Schröter, Eva - Schnitter Herbst
Wie ist mein Leben
- Spann-Rheinsch, Erika - Waldeinsamkeit
- Steinmüller, Paul - Im Volkston

Sternberg, Leo - Drei weisse Wolken
Vogeler, Alv - Abendfrieide
Wittner, Victor - März
Wolff, Johanna - Vaterland